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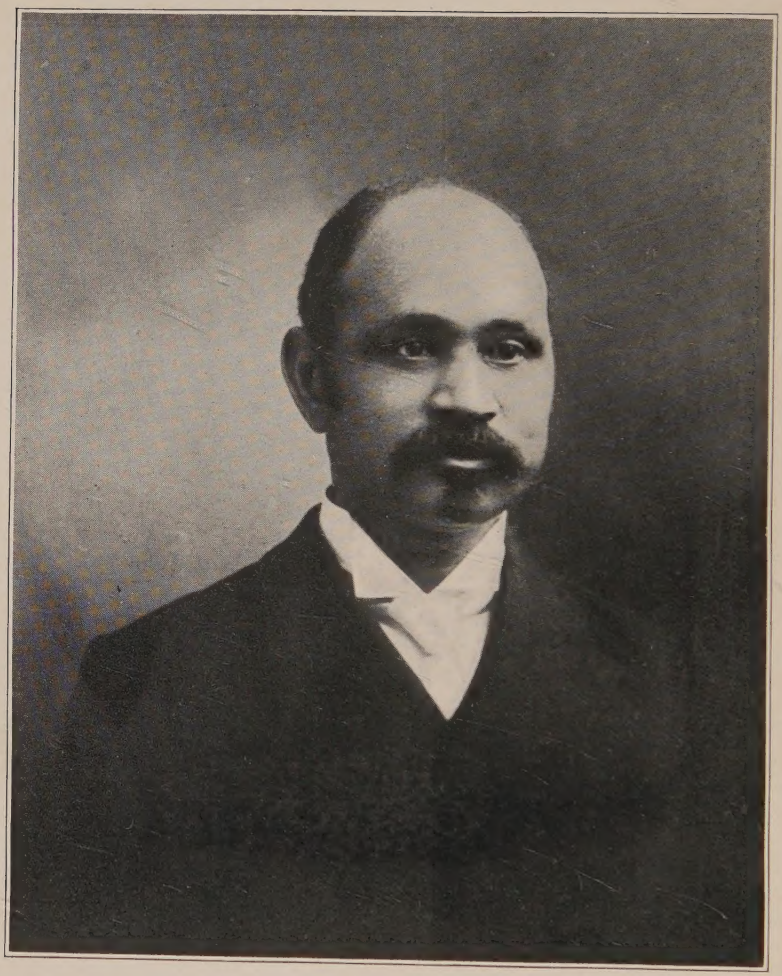

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HOW TO SOLVE THE RACE PROBLEM

THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Washington Conference on the Race Problem in the United States

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

NATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

HELD AT THE LINCOLN TEMPLE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH; AT THE NINETEENTH STREET BAPTIST CHURCH AND AT THE METROPOLITAN A. M. E. CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 9, 10, 11 AND 12, 1903.

ADDRESSES, RESOLUTIONS AND DEBATES BY EMINENT MEN OF BOTH RACES AND IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE.

WASHINGTON, D. C.:
BERESFORD, PRINTER, 618 F STREET, N. W.
1904.

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PREFACE.

This volume is intended to furnish material which may be considered as a partial basis, at least, upon which the *race problem* in the United States, the most difficult and troublesome American question, must be solved.

The aim of this work is to adduce the facts, find the common ground, enunciate the principles, declare the doctrine and furnish the arguments for an equitable adjustment of this complicated and ever-present question.

The American race question has not been settled because there has been no well-directed and systematic attempt on the part of the people to settle it on an equitable basis. It can be settled on no other basis. Heretofore, the Negro has not been a potent factor in the equation of the problem for the reason that he has always been easy to manage. But it should be borne in mind that the Negro of future generations will be a very different variety of being from his ancestors of ante-bellum days. This must necessarily follow if it is admitted that he is capable of progress. The relation of master and servant being removed, the principle of equality before the law must take its place. The difficult thing is to find a basis of adjustment that will be fair and acceptable to all parties concerned. The Sociological Conference on the Race Problem endeavored to set in motion the forces that will discover such a basis, and produce the *alembic* for the solution of the problem.

This book contains the findings of the Conference, composed of members of both races and from every section of the country. It ought to be of considerable value to the students of the American race question.

We ask for it a careful perusal.

J. L.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 25, 1904.*

HOW TO SOLVE THE RACE PROBLEM.

Chapter I.

The race problem in America is very difficult of solution, and cannot be solved until the grounds upon which it must be settled shall have been determined. All conflicting interests must be considered and harmonized as far as possible, and a basis of agreement between the white man of the North, the white man of the South, and the colored man must be reached before any substantial progress can be made in solving the problem.

The National Sociological Society, having undertaken the work of bringing about a better understanding between the races, held a conference at Washington City, November 9, 10, 11 and 12, 1903. This conference was composed of men of both races, eminent in law, theology, medicine, literature, economics and the science of statecraft. The result of its deliberations is given in this volume.

Race harmony was the keynote of the Conference, and the grounds agreed upon are shown in the resolutions as follows:

CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.

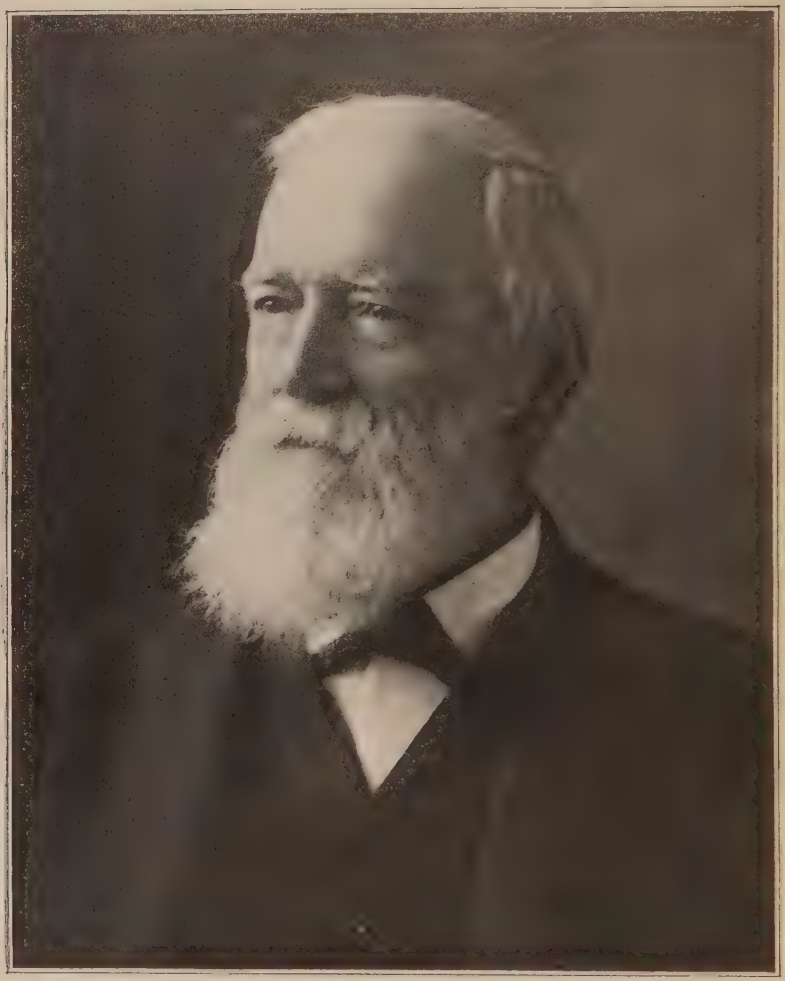
The Washington Conference on the race problem in the United States submits to the public the following conclusions:

1. The first and highest duty of every American citizen is unquestionable loyalty to the United States; to stand by the Constitution, and to defend the flag, even at the peril of his life.

2. That it is the duty of the Government to afford adequate and equal protection to each and every citizen in the full enjoyment of every right guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that the perpetuity of the republic is dependent upon fidelity to this principle.

3. That under our form of government there can be no recognition of a master class and a subject class or of a master race and a subject race, but all classes and races must be treated as equals in the eyes of the law. Every statute should apply to the whole people without distinction of class or race.

4. That among a heterogeneous people, such as the population of the United States, racial antipathies are to be expected, and it is, therefore,



General William Birney,
Former President, Board of Education, District of Columbia.
Chairman, Committee on Resolutions, Sociological Conference on the Race Problem.

necessary that mutual concessions shall be made by opposing interests; always, however, with the view of securing justice to all parties concerned.

5. We deprecate mob violence, which we believe destroys respect for orderly government, and we deplore the crime that is alleged in excuse for such violence. We believe that crime of any character is most effectually prevented or punished by the regular processes of the law.

UNWORTHY OF CONSIDERATION.

6. As solutions of the race problem we regard colonization, expatriation and segregation as unworthy of further consideration.

7. We have abiding faith in the principles of human rights established in the Declaration of Independence and the national Constitution, illustrated in the abolition of slavery between 1784 and 1826 in the majority of the original States; in the passage by the Confederation Congress and afterward by the first United States Congress of the Northwestern Territorial statute, which secured five future States to freedom forever; in the reassertion of these principles for the suppression of secession; in the extension in 1863 of freedom to all the slaves in the South; in the incorporation in common and statute law and in the practice of the courts so that every citizen can demand protection for his rights. This security is as strong as the Government itself, and though it may be and is temporarily impaired by political passions, cannot be generally suspended or permanently destroyed. We recommend the steadfast maintenance of every constitutional right and of the traditional national policy of freedom.

8. We recognize that in the limits of the ex-slave States, through State authority and through many friends, common schools have been established, and that more than forty colleges intended for education of the Negro are there located. We further recognize that these friends appreciate the vast importance of the Negro population to the intelligence and industrial prosperity of the South.

9. We have faith, too, in the increasing intelligence, industry and thrift of the colored people, inasmuch as during the past forty years of freedom they have, in spite of adverse circumstances of an unusual character, made rapid progress. The records show that they now pay taxes on more than $300,000,000 valuation of real estate, besides giving large aid to their churches and charitable institutions.

FOR A CAMPAIGN OF EDUCATION.

10. That with Thomas Jefferson, the great statesman of the early South, we hold fast to this maxim: "Educate the children; then the coming generation will be wiser than we and many things impossible to us will be easy to them."

11. We congratulate the group of young educators of both races and sexes in the Southern States on the revival in educational affairs under

their auspices, especially in the vast open country where the overwhelming majority of the children and youth now and many years to come must live.

12. We would urge the oft-repeated injunction to such of our great Protestant religious denominations as have not yet united with corresponding bodies in the South, the policy of some form of union for a general campaign of education through the less favored portions of these States.

13. We urge the thorough recognition of the people's common schools in the open country of the South as the only condition for the best development of that secondary, higher and industrial education which should be open to all sorts and conditions of the coming generation.

14. We earnestly urge upon Congress the importance of providing liberal appropriation for the national Bureau of Education, to the end that the scope of its work may be enlarged.

15. That we are thoroughly alive to the importance of this race problem, and believe that it is highly necessary that when settled it shall be settled right; and to that end we recommend the authorization by the national Congress of an inquiry into the condition of the colored people of the United States.

COMMISSION ON RACE PROBLEM.

16. That a commission of six be now and hereby appointed by the conference, consisting of six special students and experienced thinkers and workers on the race problem, and of both races equally, three of the white race and three of the Negro race, for the purpose of co-operating with such commission by the Federal Government and to assist in keeping facts, plans, arguments and efforts for the solution of the race problem before the general public and before the Government.

17. That this conference commits to the special commission of six appointed by this conference the special matter of Federal aid to the States, where needed, for the education of the whites and the Negroes, and to secure, if possible, the passage by the Federal authorities of a wise and appropriate bill for the purpose.

18. We cordially invite the active co-operation of the representative men and women of all races with us in our effort to secure the ends proposed by this conference.

Resolution number 1 defines the duty of the citizen toward the Government, and resolution number 2 states briefly the duty of the Government toward the citizen.

The Conference laid special stress upon resolution number 3, and there was no difference of opinion expressed regarding the subject-matter contained therein. Resolution number 4 points out the way to race harmony, and a great

deal of the time of the Conference was taken up in discussing resolution number 5, which deprecates mob violence.

Segregation, as a solution of the race problem, proved to be a bone of contention. After spending a whole day in discussing that subject, the Conference concluded that further consideration should not be given it.

A spirited debate was entered into on resolutions 8 and 12, some of the colored members fearing that a getting together of the religious bodies of white people, North and South, on common ground would be at the expense of the rights and consideration of the black man.

Everybody agreed to the proposition that the race problem will never be settled until it is settled upon a right basis, and to that end it was urged that a Federal Commission of Northern and Southern men of both races should be appointed to investigate and consider every phase of the race question in the United States.

All live questions are submitted by the Government for settlement to a special commission appointed for that purpose, and, in the opinion of the Conference, the race question should be treated in the same way.

For a long time the necessity of appointing a commission to inquire into the condition of the colored people of the United States had been urged upon Congress, and bills to that effect had been introduced in the Senate by Hon. John Kean, of New Jersey, and in the House of Representatives by Hon. Harvey S. Irwin, of Kentucky.

Provisions of the bill on the settlement of the race question:

The bill provides that the President of the United States shall appoint five persons [now nine], by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to serve for three years, and to be known as a "Commission on the Race Problem in the United States." Each member of this commission shall receive as compensation the sum of $3,500 per annum and an allowance for actual traveling expenses, and an allowance is also made for the expenses of the commission, consisting of clerks, stenographers, rent, printing, and so forth, not exceeding $12,000 per annum.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION.

The commission shall have power to give hearings when necessary, and to send for persons and papers and to administer oaths and affirmations.

OBJECTS OF THE COMMISSION.

The object of the commission is to make a comprehensive investigation of the condition of the people of the Negro race in the United States, their educational progress and the best means of promoting harmony between the races.

The commission are not only to investigate, but are also to report their views concerning the best manner of adjusting the troubles which now disturb the harmonious relations of the races.

The argument for the Commission is to be found in the following papers:

Before the Committee on Labor in the House of Representatives, April 21, 1902, Mr. Jesse Lawson, as chairman of a special committee appointed by a mass meeting of citizens, recently held in the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., spoke as follows in presenting the paper previously prepared by the undersigned committee:

Gentlemen: We thank you for the opportunity of presenting to you some of the reasons why bill H. R. 12940, introduced by Hon. Harvey S. Irwin, of Kentucky, should be enacted into law at the present session of Congress.

1. The perpetuity of American institutions depends in no small measure upon the intelligence of the people, an intelligence gained through a study of the conditions affecting the social relations of man. Our Government has done much to facilitate study along that line by liberal appropriations for commissions to investigate and report on certain subjects of special interest to the people and of great importance to the Nation, and in so doing has, to some extent, followed the precedent set by other nations which have been great factors in the world's civilization.

While the investigations already made cover almost every line of activity among the people, and take in all classes in society, yet there is no document bearing the official stamp of the Government showing the condition of the colored people in the United States, and the progress they have made since emancipation in 1865. Such a document is considered highly necessary to a fair and intelligent treatment of the race problem in America.

2. The colored people of the entire country are very anxious to have the commission, authorized by the bill, appointed, and have so expressed

themselves in addresses and resolutions adopted by the Afro-American Council—the great organization of the race in the United States, at national conventions held in Chicago, Illinois, August, 1899; in Indianapolis, Indiana, August, 1900, and in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August, 1901. On this measure there is no division of sentiment among our people. The matter has been thoroughly canvassed, and it meets with approval from all sections of our country.

3. To the most casual observer of the race question in America it is apparent that the white and colored people are farther apart to-day than at any time since emancipation, and this, too, in face of the fact that the United States now represents a much higher phase of civilization than it did forty years ago. Both races are loyal to the Government, and are doing what they can to make it the best government God ever vouchsafed to man. They speak the same language; have the same religion and civilization; their thoughts and habits are the same, and the same aspirations spring eternally in the bosom of each, and yet there is apparently a growing estrangement between them; an estrangement that does not argue a healthy condition, but rather gives evidence that there is a malady of some kind gnawing at the vitals of the Nation, weakening the links that should bind all classes and races together upon this continent as one people. Such estrangement does not feed the fires of patriotism that should burn in the bosom of every American citizen, but rather tends to dampen the ardor of the patriotism of the class who feel that they have been unjustly dealt with. We believe that somewhere, in the wise economy of God, there is a remedy for every wrong inflicted, and that there is sufficient intelligence, patriotism, and love of fair play among the American people, as represented in the present Congress, to furnish means whereby that remedy may be sought out and applied where necessary; and for this reason we urge the passage of the bill.

4. There is a growing tendency among the people of our race to leave the healthy localities of the country and farming districts, and huddle together in the alleys and other insanitary places in the large cities. There must be some vital reason for this large and unnatural migration towards the cities. The cause should be ascertained, and the influx from the country to the cities checked as soon as possible. This is another reason for urging early and favorable action on the bill.

5. The charge is often made against the colored American that he has made no material contribution for the advancement of science, and has not been productive of useful inventions, and by being a consumer, and not a producer, has become a drag on the country. An inquiry ought to be made as to the truthfulness or falsity of said charge, and it is due to the colored people, constituting, as they do, one-eighth of the entire population of the United States, that this charge be investigated by competent authority, as contemplated by the bill.

6. The colored people have had no representation upon the commissions appointed to inquire into the industrial and sociological condition of the

people of the United States, and whatever data have been furnished respecting them have been gathered and formulated by other hands. The whole field of activities common to them, and necessarily entering in as factors in the American problem, has not, however, been covered by any investigation known to us, nor has their case been presented.

7. We believe that ignorance of each other is one of the chief causes of race friction in this country, and that the better elements of each race are unknown to the other. All of the colored people are not alike, any more than all of the white people are alike; and when the real facts are known the common sense of the American people will enable them to overcome the antipathy which promotes inharmonious relations.

8. In view of the fact that our people have no representative of their own race to speak for them in either branch of Congress, no Federal judge upon any bench in the country, and no head of any Executive Department of the Government, and thus are denied a voice in any form in the councils of the Nation, and have no hand in shaping the policy of the United States, notwithstanding the fact that they are taxpayers and defenders of the flag, we think that the commission asked for under this bill is a very modest request and ought to be granted at the present session of Congress.

It will be recalled that the subject-matter indicated in this bill was first urged by Thomas Jefferson, who sent the almanac presented to him by Benjamin Banneker, the celebrated colored astronomer, to the Paris Academy, remarking that he and his race were entitled to have the world to know every circumstance in evidence of their progress.

(Signed) P. B. S. Pinchback, La.; Bishop Abraham Grant, Ind.; Jesse Lawson, N. J.; George H. White, N. C.; Rev. E. W. Lampton, Miss.; Rev. Walter H. Brooks, D. C.; J. R. Harris, Va.; Rev. B. J. Bolding, Pa.; Daniel Murray, D. C.; H. P. Slaughter, Ky.; *Committee.*

Remarks favorable to the bill were also made by Bishop Abraham Grant, Hon. George H. White, M. C., of North Carolina, and former Governor P. B. S. Pinchback, of Louisiana; and the merits of the bill were ably discussed in an article by Prof. Kelly Miller in *The Washington Post*, in which it is suggested that the Commission should consist of three white men from the North, three white men from the South and three colored men.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 20, 1902.*

HON. W. R. WARNOCK, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I ask to be permitted to submit some additional remarks relative to bill H. R. 12940 creating a commission to inquire into the condition of the colored people of the United States.

1. The information to be obtained under the provisions of the bill is not for the use and benefit of the colored people alone, but for the enlighten-

ment of the people of the whole country on a subject that enters in as a factor in our national life, and upon which no comprehensive and thorough investigation has yet been made. The aim of the inquiry is to acquaint the colored people, comprising, as they do, one-eighth of the entire population of the United States, with their true condition in this country, in the hope of suggesting the means whereby that condition may be improved; and to furnish information for the study of the sociological condition of these people, and its bearing upon the rest of the people of the United States. The data thus obtained is to be used as a basis upon which to found a better understanding between the white and colored people of this country, and thereby lessen the friction between them. To use the language of the bill: "The commission are to investigate and report their views concerning the adjustment of the trouble affecting the harmonious relations of the races." Thus it is seen that the matter is national in character, and comes clearly within the scope of Congressional action.

2. The purpose of the Constitution is not simply "to form a more perfect union and to provide for the common defense,"* but also "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." This contemplates action based upon a knowledge of the facts in the case, and bill H. R. 12940 aims to carry out some of the things for which the Constitution was ordained and established.

"The law of the land,"† according to Daniel Webster, "is a law which proceeds upon inquiry."

3. The Constitution makes it incumbent upon the President of the United States to give the Congress, from time to time, "information on the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient,"‡ but the President cannot give this information until it has been ascertained through duly authenticated sources, and hence the creation of such commissions as contemplated by this bill is a necessity under the Constitution.

There seems to be very little definite knowledge in the possession of the American people respecting the sociological condition of the colored people of the United States, and the effect of that condition upon the whole country. Since no problem can be solved without considering all of the factors that enter into the problem, so the race question in America cannot be settled without considering all of the elements that enter in as factors into the question. In order to do that, data must be gathered from a sufficient number of centers or sources to make certain the fact that all of the data which enter as factors of the problem have been collected, and properly deduced, or accounted for. There must be no missing links, and no undistributed terms, but the work must be done on a scientific basis, and subject to the tests of logic.

4. Both before and since the war of the rebellion the cotton and rice crops of the South have been very largely raised by the colored people,

* Preamble Fed. Const. † 4 Wheat. 518. ‡ Fed. Const., Art. II, Sec. 3.

who seem especially adapted to agricultural pursuits, and yet these people are leaving the farms in large numbers and are crowding together in the large cities. There are now fully 90,000 colored people in the District of Columbia, notwithstanding the fact that there is no great manufacturing industry there, and but meagre chance for remunerative employment for persons of color, outside of the Government Departments, and in domestic service.

If left to themselves the colored people in the District of Columbia would constitute a city equal to and surpassing in population each of the following named places:

Richmond, Va.; Wilmington, Del.; Des Moines, Ia.; Birmingham, Ala.; and greater than the combined population of Harrisburg, Pa., and Chattanooga, Tenn.

Out of this population of 90,000 there are about 600 persons engaged in mercantile pursuits; about 400 school teachers and college professors; 200 surgeons and physicians; 300 preachers; 175 lawyers; 7,000 artisans and skilled laborers; 1,200 clerks, and about 25,000 persons engaged in domestic service, and about 8,000 day laborers. They own and control two banking institutions; twenty-six printing offices; 150 churches, and pay taxes on about $15,000,000 worth of property.

The death rate among the colored people at the National Capital is about double that of the whites, while the birth rate among them is about three times as great as that of the native born American white people. On the farms the death rate of the two races is about equal.

At the National Capital and in the large cities of the South the colored people form the sub-strata of society from which generally come the criminal classes; but the sub-strata and criminal classes of the Northern cities are white.

If the colored people were secure in life and property in the farming districts of the South I believe that they would remain upon the farms, and till the soil to the advantage of themselves, and for the benefit of mankind.

The conferences at Tuskegee, Alabama, under the direction of Professor Booker T. Washington, have been productive of much good in pointing out to the people how to make farming easy, attractive and profitable. Professor John Wesley Hoffman, Ph.D., a colored man of South Carolina, is designated "doctor of the soil," because he knows how to make all kinds of land profitable.

If by any agency, whatever, the Government could prove to the colored citizen that it is to his advantage to remain on the farm, and grow strong by contact with "Mother Nature," and if the Government would make him secure in the enjoyment of his rights as an American citizen while he is engaged in agricultural pursuits—or in any other legitimate occupation—then the Government will have done much towards solving one of the greatest problems of the country, and would be fully repaid, and more than repaid for the amount of money expended thereon.

5. Many useful mechanical contrivances are the results of the black man's inventive genius. This was shown to good advantage at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895, where the models and drawings of Negro inventions were catalogued and exposed to inspection. It was this showing that gave inspiration to Professor Booker T. Washington, who made a speech at the opening of the exposition that went right home to the head and hearts of the American people, both North and South, black and white, and made us all realize the fact that the black man does understand the situation in this country, and knows the remedy for the existing evil. All that he asks is to be given a man's chance in the race for life.

6. Although not quite forty years removed from slavery, yet we have contributed our quota to the departments of liberal and fine arts. We have stood the crucial tests in the Northern colleges and universities, and, in this year of grace, at the very threshold of the twentieth century, rich in the ripened experience of all the ages past, a Negro lad, Roscoe Conkling Bruce, son of former Senator B. K. Bruce, of Mississippi, carries off the prize at "Fair Harvard," the Alma Mater of Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States.

7. If I mistake not, a painting, entitled, "Under the Oaks," by a Negro artist by the name of Bannister, of Hartford, Connecticut, was awarded first prize at the Centennial Exposition in 1876, and a painting by an American Negro, the son of Rt. Rev. B. T. Tanner, Bishop of the A. M. E. Church, Philadelphia, Pa., won the first prize in Paris, France, not long ago.

I think that I have produced sufficient facts to prove that my people have done something for the advancement of civilization, and the good of our Government, and are worthy of consideration at the hands of Congress; and I rest the case in the hope that Congress will pass bill H. R. 12940 at the present session.

Yours truly,

JESSE LAWSON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 25, 1902.*

HON. W. R. WARNOCK, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Your report on the Inquiry Commission Bill, made before the House of Representatives, May 23, 1902, contains in concise form the reasons why favorable action should be taken on the said bill, but in addition to the reasons already adduced, I wish to submit the following:

1. A study of the sociological conditions in America reveals the fact that the race question needs systematic treatment based on definite knowledge ascertained through authentic sources. The data already gathered by the Government will not meet the demands of the case for the reason that the scope of investigation has not been far-reaching enough to cover the whole ground. Reports from the Census Office, the Department of Labor, and the Bureau of Education show to some extent the condition of the colored people along certain lines of activity, but no investigation

has as yet gone to the very root of the matter so as to show in its entirety the true condition of these people, and its bearing on society. The offices above referred to cannot make this investigation, from the very nature of things because they are not constituted and equipped for that purpose. They are doing good work along the lines for which they were created, and ought not to be burdened by work that can be better and more satisfactorily performed by other agencies.

The appointment of commissions to investigate special questions is of immemorial usage under the Government, and the wisdom of such procedure has been demonstrated time and again. *Live questions need live methods of treatment, and the race question is a live issue in America. It is an unsettled question*, and it should be remembered that "*unsettled questions have no regard for the repose of nations.*"

2. All previous attempts to adjust the race question have proved abortive because of lack of knowledge of the subject. All of the elements that enter as factors into the problem have not been used because of lack of necessary data. The value of any class of people to the State is determined by their general tendencies, and these tendencies must be considered in connection with their opportunities and environments. Then and then only can proper credits be given, and responsibility be placed where it belongs. The colored people want the full light of all the electric batteries turned on. They ask for a thorough investigation, and they beg the Government to grant it.

3. Being forty years removed from slavery, and being full-fledged American citizens according to the organic law of the land, they are now prepared to assume their place in the body politic, and to meet every obligation imposed upon them by an enlightened civilization. They ask the same consideration for their case as is given to other interests of like importance; and they feel that they ought to receive it at the hands of the Government to which they have given the the most loyal and unselfish support from the days of the Revolution to the present time. From Lexington to Yorktown, and from Fort Sumter to Appomattox, our people fought with as much earnestness, and as effectively, according to their opportunities, as any other forces that supported the Federal cause, and they feel that they should be granted, at least, equal consideration with the men who tried to destroy the Union, and who are now trying to make a travesty of republican institutions by bringing into contempt government by the people. Amnesty has been granted to every man who fought against the Union, while even civil rights, in many of the States, are denied to black men who fought for the Union. The very men who complain that the Negro is not progressive offer objection to every measure proposed with a view to giving him an equal chance with the other races in America to work out his own salvation. They hinder him from doing, and then find fault with him for not doing the impossible. They lay it down as a cardinal principle of their party that the Negro is unlike the rest of the American people, and should not be accorded the rights, privileges and

immunities given other classes under the Government; that he is a different sort of being and needs different kind of treatment from that given other people, and yet when an inquiry into the condition of this peculiar class, which they themselves stoutly maintain exists, is proposed, they are the first ones to proclaim that the condition of the Negro is like that of all the rest of people in America, and should be treated in exactly the same manner. Why do they not follow that teaching in dealing with the colored citizen at the South; in according to him a hand in the management of the government of the several States in which he is a member and a tax-payer? They know that their argument is founded on sophistry, and cannot stand the test of logic. The truth of the matter is, they do not want the light turned on, and I fear from a cause similar to that which actuated the men spoken of in the Scriptures, who preferred darkness to light.

My people have nothing to keep back. They want the torch of science, guided by the Government, because then it will be impartial, to penetrate every crevice and doghole of their habitation and find out all there is there which may be regarded as phenomena or factors in the solution of the race problem in the United States. They want the investigation to be conducted by men who have sufficient intelligence to recognize phenomenon when they see it, and who are fair-minded enough to search for all of the data that may in any way affect the solution of the problem, and then let that data be put to the crucial test of logic in order that it may reveal the condition just as it is, "without variableness or shadow of turning."

4. In patriotic devotion to American institutions, they yield to none; the spirit of anarchy has never invaded their ranks; mob violence is detested by them, and yet there is a restlessness among our people born of anxiety to know just where they stand under the Government of the United States, and what will be the future policy of the Government respecting their rights.

Our party is in power in every branch of the National Government, and yet "jim crow" cars come into the District of Columbia, and load and unload passengers on a public reservation, within a half-mile of the White House, and the Capitol in which our law-makers sit, without one word of protest from anybody having authority to speak. I need not mention the innumerable forms of inhumanity to which we are subjected because of race connections, but it has come to this, that we are without representation in either branch of Congress, notwithstanding the fact that we are counted in to help swell the Congressional delegation from certain States, and to increase the power of a certain party in the electoral college. *We are in the Government, but not of it.*

The statistics respecting us have all been gathered and collated by persons who are in no way connected with us by race identification, or interest; indeed, most of the so-called race statistics have been furnished by persons who deny to the Negro the possibility of a highly developed citi-

zenship. The people in the section where the Negro is most numerous assume to have superior knowledge respecting his traits and tendencies, his capabilities, and his needs, and most of the data furnished the Government have come from people who once held the Negro in slavery, and now come in contact with him only as a house servant, or as a field hand. Race prejudice is so strong in the United States that it is difficult for a colored man to obtain a house, by purchase or otherwise, in a white neighborhood in many of the Northern cities, and it is almost next to impossible for him to obtain a home in a white neighborhood in any Southern community except among the baser elements of society; and thus it is that *the better classes of whites and blacks never live in juxtaposition to each other, and the one knows but little or nothing of the home life of the other.* We know of no better test of friendship than the one given by the Master of us all in the parable of the good Samaritan: "He is your neighbor who shows himself neighborly." The Negro is not so ignorant as not to be able to discern between true and professed friendships. He knows his friends and knows how to appreciate them. He is also observing the tendency of things in America. Being deprived of representation in Congress he views with alarm the studied attempt to eliminate him entirely from any participation in public affairs at the South. He knows that the jewels of liberty transmitted by the fathers have never had more trustworthy keepers and defenders than the colored people, and yet these people are constantly losing ground at every turn in public affairs. Something must be radically wrong somewhere, and just what it is and where it is should be the province of this investigation to ascertain. *The Negro in his thoughts and habits is thoroughly and intensely American, and his civilization is not African, but American through and through.* He respects authority, and yields a ready obedience to the law, and yet he is given a bad name by the very class of people who reaped the fruits of his toil for 250 years, and whose homes and firesides he protected when they were on the field of action fighting to destroy the Union.

5. It should be borne in mind that this investigation is to be conducted on scientific principles to ascertain facts that have a sociological bearing on the public weal, and is intended for the good of the whole people; and the Government has a perfect right to institute a thorough investigation into any condition which obtains in the United States, affecting the masses of people. The wisest men* of our times agree that publicity is the safety valve in the conduct of large public and quasi-public concerns. We are a party in interest, and we court the widest investigation. We have nothing hid that we would not willingly reveal.

6. We came out of slavery forty years ago empty-handed and naked, as it were, before the world, without even a knowledge of the alphabet of the language we attempted to speak, but we have to-day property amounting to about $940,000,000; 25,000 graduates from colleges and universities,

* President Roosevelt, and many others.

and over a hundred thousand teachers employing their time profitably to the instruction of the masses. We have artisans of every description, and almost every community has its quota of colored preachers, lawyers and doctors.

7. It seems to us inexplicable that the higher the Negro ascends in the scale of civilization, and the better citizen he becomes in every respect, the greater victim he becomes to the malevolence of people living in a certain section of our country. Indeed, I do not put the case strong enough. The problem would be shorn of a great deal of its difficulty, and its solution made easier if the spirit of apparent malevolence toward the Negro were confined to the States where slavery formerly existed, but such is not the case, and it is unfortunate for us that it is not. The South, so to speak, has no particular prejudice toward any individual of the race, but its malevolence is directed against the race as a whole, and it seems especially anxious to degrade and humiliate the Negro so far as his civil and political rights are concerned.

At the North, the rights of the colored citizen are conceded largely in the abstract. A practical application of those rights does not always materialize. This, I take it, is because the North considers principles rather than men. It lays too much stress upon systems and not enough upon men. The Negro experiences this difference in the two sections: The North invites him to noble contests and lofty aspirations, while the South apparently despises him for even thinking along those lines, and yet the South is willing to give him a man's chance to make a living.

The South is insistent upon its views regarding the rights of the Negro, and assumes to have the only knowledge respecting his needs. It dictated the policy of the Government from the days of the American Revolution to the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln in 1861, and its paramount issue in every campaign was Negro slavery. The 400,000 slave-holders at the breaking out of the civil war dictated the policy of the Government, and gave color to American opinion everywhere; and the remnant of that 400,000 slave-holders has shaped the policy of the Government relative to the rights of the colored citizen from 1877 to the present time. It has done whatsoever it wanted to do in violation of the recent Amendments to the Federal Constitution and against American citizenship without any interference on the part of the National authorities. It is true that we have had declarations in party platforms against such practices at the South, but they have been without meaning after the heat of the campaign is over. I do not overstate the case, and, indeed, have not put it strong enough; for the truth of history reveals a state of affairs more threatening to the public welfare than I deem it prudent to throw into the arena of public discussion at this time. Suffice it to say that the Negro is familiar with the history of public events in America, and that knowledge has caused his unrest.

Thanking you and the gentlemen associated with you for the consideration you and they have given the subject-matter of the Inquiry Commis-

sion Bill, and hoping that the said bill will receive favorable action at an early date, I remain, Yours truly,

JESSE LAWSON.

The same data and arguments were furnished the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and favorable action on the bill was recommended by said Committee.

HARMONY AND RACE LEADERSHIP NECESSARY REQUIREMENTS.

Chapter II.

The requirement imposed by the whites that the colored people must agree among themselves, respecting men and measures, as a prerequisite to recognition, suggests the necessity of race leadership being lodged somewhere or in some person. It may be in an organization, such as a national society, league, council or association, or it may be in a single individual of striking personality and a thoroughly representative character. The logic of the situation suggests a combination of forces into a union for effective work. The requirement will not be met by the averment that the white people are not all agreed among themselves on any particular thing, and that it is just as hard for them to get together, in any given instance, as it is for the colored people to agree under similar circumstances. Since the condition is imposed by those having authority to do so, and since they are insistent upon it, would it not be wise and politic on the part of the Negro to do the thing that will satisfy the situation?

The colored people compose the most heterogeneous group in the United States, and hence are less easily led from within than any other class of American citizens. It is a recognized principle in the science of sociology that it is very difficult to establish and maintain leadership among any heterogeneous people because of failure to be moved by the same impulses. No set of rules can be made to cover every group in a heterogeneous mass, nor will general pleadings apply to such a mass. Special pleadings must be resorted to, and longer time and greater expenditure of physical and mental energy will be required to accomplish the work. The force to be effective must ultimately come

from within. A manifestation of self-efficiency will make a people factors in any equation.

Leadership among a heterogeneous people will have to be brought about and maintained per force of an iron hand and an indomitable will; and it is necessary that that leadership be centered in some supreme body, either composite or sole, and that body or agency shall have the final word on matters of *vital interest* to the colored people. It is not essential that the agency be wholly of their own creation, or composed entirely of members of their own race, *but it must be acceptable to them.*

Such leadership must possess the elements of aggressiveness (tempered by discretion), intellectual acumen, moral stamina, and unmistakable loyalty to the cause espoused. And, furthermore, in discussing race leadership, it should be constantly borne in mind that the acceptable agency must be an unequivocal advocate of the cause it represents.*

* It is not intended that a trust for brokage in political patronage should be created for the benefit of any given set of men, or clique; for that would defeat the end for which race leadership is needed. A "Ham" trust is not wanted.

RT. REV. HENRY Y. SATTERLEE, D. D.,
Bishop of the Diocese of Washington,
Who offered the Invocation at the opening session of the Sociological Conference on the Race Problem.

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

ON THE

Race Problem in the United States,

TO BE HELD AT

LINCOLN TEMPLE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,

Corner Eleventh and R Streets, N. W.,

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

NOVEMBER 9, 10, 11 AND 12, 1903.

The First Session to begin at 2 P. M., November 9th.

ORGANIZATION.

Subjects Suggested for Conference:

1. THE NATURE AND CAUSE OF RACE PREJUDICE: HOW CONTROLLED.

2. FACTORS IN THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM:
   (a) Education. (b) Statesmanship. (c) Religion. (d) Philanthropy.

3. PROPOSED SOLUTIONS:
   (a) Race Segregation. (b) Distribution among the States. (c) Colonization. (d) Race Harmony.

4. SPECIAL PROBLEMS:
   (a) The City Negro. (b) Rape and Lynching. (c) The Negro as an Industrial Factor. (d) The Negro as a Patriot.

5. THE NECESSITY FOR A COMMISSION TO CONSIDER THE VARIOUS PHASES OF THE RACE PROBLEM.

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON THE RACE PROBLEM.

Chapter III.

The Washington Conference on the Race Problem was called to order at Lincoln Temple Congregational Church, Washington, D. C., at 2 o'clock P. M., Monday, November 9, 1903, by Prof. Jesse Lawson, President of the National Sociological Society.

Prayer was offered by Rt. Rev. Henry Y. Satterlee, Bishop of Washington.

The following invitation to the Conference was read by Prof. Kelly Miller, Corresponding Secretary of the National Sociological Society:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 1, 1903.*

Dear Sir:

Believing that the situation brought about by the race problem, in the United States, can be relieved only by the best efforts of the people of both races, North and South, and feeling assured that there is sufficient wisdom, patriotism and love of fair play among the American people to enable them to cope with any situation, however grave, it has been decided by the National Sociological Society—an organization for the study of the condition of the colored people of the United States, and to suggest plans for the improvement of that condition—to call a conference to be held at Washington, D. C., November 9–11, 1903—at the time for the assembling of Congress in extraordinary session—to deliberate on the most serious phases of the race question, and to formulate plans for the relief of a strained situation.

You are cordially invited to become a member of the Conference, and to participate in its deliberations.

It is hoped that the discussions will be directed to definite propositions, and will lead to the formulation of remedial measures.

The assembly shall be known and designated as

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE,

and shall be free to elect its own officers, and to make rules for its guidance.

As the membership of the Conference will be confined to the most thoughtful and conservative persons of both races, it will necessarily be limited, and it is urged that the persons invited will accept the invitation and notify the Corresponding Secretary to that effect at once.

The Conference will be held at Lincoln Temple Congregational Church, corner Eleventh and R Streets, Northwest, Rev. Sterling N. Brown, D. D., pastor, and the first session will open at 2 o'clock P. M.

All communications should be addressed to Kelly Miller, Professor of Mathematics, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

JESSE LAWSON, *President*,
2011 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
GEO. H. WHITE, *Chairman Executive Committee*,
609 F Street, N. W.
J. WM. MAYS, *Treasurer*,
1822 Eleventh Street, N. W.
KELLY MILLER, *Corresponding Secretary*,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

The objects of the Conference were further explained by Prof. Lawson in the following address:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONFERENCE:

We meet today to deliberate on a subject of considerable concern to the American people. The race problem in the United States is an unsettled question, and "unsettled questions have no regard for the repose of nations."

The promoters of this Conference do not entertain the idea that the problem will be solved by our deliberations on this occasion, nor do they hope to accomplish more than a fair statement of the question; believing that "the next thing to having a question settled is to have it well raised."

The objects of the conference briefly stated are as follows:

To deliberate on the most serious phases of the race problem, and to formulate plans for the relief of a strained situation made possible by the presence of said problem; to discover some common ground upon which all of the friends of the cause may stand, and to adjust the different and divergent views, respecting the solution of the problem, into a definite and harmonious proposition.

All of the elements that enter in as factors in the solution of the problem should be carefully considered, and the deductions made upon a logical basis.

Patriotism should be the guiding star of our delibera-

tions, and whatever we do or say on this occasion should be prompted by the desire to safeguard and promote our country's welfare; advance the cause of a higher and nobler civilization, and to better the condition of all mankind.

Organization was next in order. A motion was made and adopted that a committee on organization be appointed. The chair named the following: Hon. George H. White, Gen. William Birney, Prof. J. Hugo Johnston, Bishop L. H. Holsey and Mr. George F. Collins.

The committee retired for deliberation. In the meantime it was suggested by Mr. Lawson, the chairman, that the time be utilized to good advantage by introductory remarks.

Dr. Klemm, of the Bureau of Education, was called upon, but he excused himself on the score of his English.

Mr. Burrell, of Richmond, Va., Secretary of the True Reformers, said:

Mr. President, I assure you that I am pleased with the very kind reference that you have made to our organization. I have come to this conference not for the purpose of talking or saying anything, but to hear and learn. I can only say that I am glad that in extending the invitations you thought of us, that we might know of this great meeting and that we might be able to carry whatever good may be done here to our seventy thousand Negroes. I think that you have said in your opening address all that I would like to say and a great deal better than I can hope to say, and I only want to say this one thing—that the True Reformers, seventy thousand strong, are heart and hand with you in any move that can be made for the betterment of the Negro race.

Dr. John Gordon, President of Howard University, said:

I thank you for the very kind way in which you spoke of Howard University. Of course, our interests are very wide and give great value to the position with which I have been honored. Everything that is to be taken up by this conference will be of the greatest interest to me per-

REV. JOHN GORDON, D. D.,
President, Howard University, Washington, D. C.,
Vice President, Sociological Conference on the Race Problem.

sonally. Your very kind words of introduction indicated that there is nothing more expected than an opportunity for those present to look at me. I hope they will all come to know me. For me to say anything would be to anticipate ground which has been carefully prepared by speakers who are to come and which I anticipate listening to. I am in the attitude of the learner, and do not think I can say anything that can be of benefit to you who have the heat and burden of the conference.

PROF. T. S. INBORDEN, President of Joseph K. Brick Industrial School, Enfield, N. C., said:

I am glad you called upon me. I always like to put myself on record. Our school covers considerable territory, 1,429 acres; we have 24 head of horses and mules; we made last week 200 gallons of molasses; we grow potatoes, a good many that weigh five pounds, turnips and onions as large as grow anywhere in the South. We are trying to solve the Negro problem. We are teaching those boys how to farm; we have a manual training shop with a great deal of machinery. We look on the bright side of things. We teach boys to do things with their hands. We teach the girls to cook, to make their own clothes. We do not neglect book work. We propose to do as good work as any school in the South. I do not make a single exception. We do not teach college studies; have elementary studies for those who expect to go to college, but the eighth grade is the highest for the majority. We are located on the Atlantic Coast line; have a large farm; 1,000 acres under cultivation. There are thirty children who live on the farm and whose parents cultivate the soil. There are deer running wild on the lower part, wild turkeys, rabbits, etc. We are teaching temperance and the moral life; morality is the great subject. We cannot bother very much about the race problem.

BISHOP SATTERLEE:

I came here not to give information but to gain in-

T. S. INBORDEN, A. M.,
Principal, Joseph K. Brick A. I. and N. School, Enfield, N. C.
Member of the Committee on Education, National Sociological Society.

formation. When I came from New York to Washington I knew something about this great problem; I have been here seven years and now I know nothing about it. The conditions which face us are difficult; if they could be easily comprehended there would be no necessity of this conference. Our fellow-citizens of the colored race are here and are here to stay. We face that condition and now, with the Lord's help, we want to see what we can do to mutually benefit one another. As you see, then, I am not in a condition to offer any suggestions. I must be in New York tomorrow, or I would certainly come to the meetings of this conference. This paper [referring to the conference program] hits the nail exactly on the head; these are the things we want to face; these the problems we want to solve, and I hope we shall be able to solve them.

In introducing the next speaker, the chairman, Mr. Lawson, said: We have with us the representative of an institution that in itself is a problem; which stands for something; whether we agree or disagree with the principles laid down there, that institution is a factor. I have reference to the Tuskegee Institute. Mr. Washington may be here tomorrow. He expects to come if he can. In his absence we have the Principal of the Academic Department of Tuskegee Institute, a Washington boy, the son of the late Senator B. K. Bruce, a gentleman who took all the honors at Harvard College, who has since proved that he is a man, though he looks to be a boy. I refer to Roscoe Conkling Bruce.

MR. R. C. BRUCE:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It is my privilege to extend to you in your deliberations the greetings of Tuskegee Institute and the godspeed of Tuskegee's Principal.

At this time, permit me to make two or three suggestions:

(1) The position of the Negro in the United States is by

no means so secure as we might wish. The mortality of the Negro, especially in cities, the exclusion of Negro workmen from the trades in the North, the tendency even in Southern cities toward the elimination of Negroes from trades in which for many years they have been the controlling factor, the tendency for enterprising Negroes to leave the rural districts for the maelstrom of city life—these things bid us take heed. This Conference should consider ways and means for overcoming such ill-omened tendencies.

(2) On the other hand, progress comes with measured tread. Penniless and thriftless in 1860, Negro heads of families occupying homes had, by 1890, come to own 18.7 per cent. of the homes thus occupied, and 88.8 per cent. of these were owned free of all incumbrance. Between 1890 and 1900, the Negro heads of family increased their ownership of homes from 18.7 per cent. to 21.8 per cent. Here is undubitable progress, but it is not and could not be cataclysmic. This Conference should recognize that the Negro's advance in social efficiency and in worth must, in the nature of things, be slow and not showy, and that legislative enactment can increase the rate of advance only a little.

(3) Finally, you must remember that in the Southern States nine-tenths of our people live and labor. Since 1880, the former slave States have spent $105,807,030 for Negro schools, and in this way the governing classes have substantially attested their recognition of the fundamental fact that the interests of the two races are one great interest. The friendship of the white people of the South is of inestimable value to the Negro, and statesmanship will eagerly seek any honorable means of cementing that friendship.

PROF. A. F. CRAVEN, of Columbian University, D. C., said:

The condition of the colored people of the United States is a subject in which I have been interested from childhood. Like General Birney, I was brought up in the abolitionist cause.

PROF. J. HUGO JOHNSTON, of the Virginia Colored Normal and Industrial Institute, Petersburg, Va.:

I confess that I have come to listen to the wise men of Washington and from other sections of the country on this problem which is troubling so many of us. My age does not fit me to talk just at this time until I hear from others. I esteem it a great privilege and pleasure to be in your midst, and hope these discussions will redound to the good of the people of our country.

REV. A. D. MAYO, A. M., LL. D., of Boston:

I am glad to meet the gentlemen here. Twenty years' work has carried me through all the Southern States and the majority of the cities. I think it is a great help to me that I started in my work in the way that Bishop Satterlee has informed us that he came to Washington, to learn. I did not have to come to Washington to learn that I knew nothing about the matter. I went, determined to use my own eyes and ears. I did not know a dozen people south of Mason's and Dixon's line. I did not know anything of the colored people except as I had met them. The field of work in the South gave me large opportunities of observation. I tried to find out for myself the truth and the falsehood of a great many things that I had taken for granted. The conclusions which I have arrived at will appear in an address this evening.

GEN. WILLIAM BIRNEY:

Mr. President, I had not the choice of my place of birth. I came to this world in Alabama; was brought up there. My father was a slave owner. He became after a while convinced that slavery was unjust and turned abolitionist. He brought up all of his sons in that faith, and I am glad to say that they all stuck to it. At the time the Civil War broke out, there were five members of the Birney family old enough to bear arms. They all went into the war. That showed, I think, that they had been properly brought up. I was one of those in the war.

Three of the brothers died of diseases contracted there. I am now the only survivor. I went into the war as a private. I rose to the rank of Brevet Major-General, never having asked for promotion; when a vacancy occurred above me I received a commission to fill it. I conferred at the outbreak of the Rebellion with Senator Wilson, who was at the head of the military committee of the Senate, and advised him that the Negroes should be organized as soldiers and be permitted to aid in the war. I offered my services at that time to organize colored troops. My proposition was submitted by him to Secretary Chase, a personal friend of mine, but neither thought it could be put into effect at that time. I went into the war with the New Jersey troops. I was the only abolitionist in the brigade to which I belonged. They were all abolitionists before the end of the war. In 1863 I became colonel of a New Jersey regiment. I was summoned to Washington to organize colored troops. I began the organization in Washington, and I enlisted a regiment. I was enlisting officer, mustering officer, and drill officer. President Lincoln asked me at one time, would my men make good soldiers? I told him they would execute any order, no matter what it might be. I had the honor of organizing seven regiments which were sent into the field, and I commanded mostly colored troops until the end of the war. Since that time I have never neglected any opportunity to do what I thought would promote the good of the people of the country, including the colored people. I attempted to do something for the education of the colored children of this city when I was trustee of public schools. More might have been accomplished if I had had the confidence and support of the colored people. They were then too much disposed toward separate schools, as I thought.

I took a lively interest in the announcement of this Conference. As to the "race problem," I have my own views, formed after a great deal of experience. I was on the

stump for many years for the abolition cause. In the limited time allowed here, I don't know that I ought to attempt to sketch my views, however briefly, but it seems to me that there are no very difficult phases of this question. Owing to the prejudice of many of the people of the South, a great deal more accentuation has been given this race question than it deserves. I don't see really why there should be a question now, in justice and equity, why the colored population should not be allowed to work their way peaceably as all other persons do. Right and justice should not belong exclusively to any class or classes. If respect for vested rights and a sentiment of justice shall prevail generally, the so-called problem will work out its own solution.

I came here to learn; to hear people engaged in the active work of progress. I am a looker-on, waiting to see what others are thinking and doing. I have learned from the few words of Bishop Holsey a good deal; I had no idea so many colored people had migrated from the South. The employers of labor in the South do not want the colored people to migrate; and certainly they are not inclined to do so. They are here; let them stay.

BISHOP HOLSEY:

This is a question I have studied through history and contact since emancipation; I have seen the beginning of it and now see some of the climaxes of it. There is no question more misrepresented than this problem. Many people have gone to the South, have made a short stay, have been blinded by kindnesses, and have thought the question was not so bad. Only the man who wears the shoe knows how bad the pain is. One must live in the South to see conditions. I had a good master; he was a school teacher and philosopher. He said to me, "I want to give you my advice. I want to see slaves emancipated, but let me tell you one thing. Make friends of some of the white men, for the time will come when they, the colored people, will be annihilated or put out of the country unless

HON. GEORGE H. WHITE, LL. D.,
Former Representative, Second District, North Carolina.
The Presiding Officer, National Sociological Conference.

they make friends with the white people." As the black man advances in the South the race prejudice gets hotter and hotter. Character, worth and power intensify it; they cannot win for the black man what they win for other men. The question never will be settled until it is settled right.

Next followed the report of the Committee on Organization. The following names were submitted, and the gentlemen were elected as officers of the Conference:

Hon. George H. White, President.

Prof. Jesse Lawson, Vice-President.

Dr. John Gordon, Vice-President.

Prof. Kelly Miller, Secretary.

Report was accepted with reservation that if the Conference felt in need of other officers it could be taken up later.

Gen. Birney and Rev. L. B. Moore escorted the President to the chair.

OPENING ADDRESS OF HON. GEORGE H. WHITE, PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE.

Ladies and Gentlemen: This is an honor that anyone should appreciate, to be elected the presiding officer of an organization that is now, and will be, characterized for its thoughtful, brainy members rather than for its numbers. But I beg to assure you that it is an honor that I did not expect and that I reluctantly accept. I shall use my best endeavors to preside over your deliberations with fairness and promote harmony as far as in me lies. I have nothing prepared to speak upon this all important subject that we are to consider. Certainly there has been no time in the history of this Republic, since our civil war, when there were so many new matters in the shape of problems before the American people for consideration. We have become a world power in all that the term means. I speak of the American people, and not of any segregated portion of them by racial distinctions. We have recently, in the interests of humanity, entered into a war difficult to duplicate in

any history of modern or ancient times, resulting in the establishment of a small republic at our feet and the annexation of territory not only of the Hawaiian Islands, but in the Orient, which brings us into a very peculiar position with reference to the rest of the world. It was only last week, almost before dinner, that Panama declared itself free and independent and has established a republican form of government.

Perhaps before the ink was dry on the paper making this declaration, the United States, through its proper officers, recognized the independence of that little republic. It was only a very short time before that when the Senate of the United States adopted a treaty, subject, however, to the approval of Colombia, for the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. This treaty was rejected by unanimous vote, followed by the secession of Panama and our quick recognition of her independence. Such an event causes each thoughtful man to think a little more. Aside from these new acquisitions and these small republics that are being established at our very door, we have immigration pouring into this country, not altogether desirable, but on the contrary, almost the riff-raff of all foreign countries, except China, which is excluded by special act of Congress, to the number of nearly 100,000 per month. They have come with their peculiar views, peculiar notions of government or want of government, of the distribution of property, etc. They in turn have organized anarchistic bodies entirely out of harmony and sympathy with our republican form of government. These facts, these republics, these new acquisitions, these new peoples, these new ideas, these new thoughts as to proper government all resolve themselves into problems that will sooner or later demand the serious attention of the American people.

These things are receiving the attention of legislatures, consideration is being given to all foreign affairs—the American is safe wherever the stars and stripes float. But there

are domestic problems—problems at our very doors that are not receiving that consideration which I believe the magnitude of the matter requires. They should be calmly and deliberately considered, and some solution of them, some method planned, some common ground reached, whereupon all thoughtful men can stand. These are some of the problems for which this meeting has been called. It is not necessary to discuss qualifications, not necessary to discuss the American Negro as such, but to discuss the relations that exist between him and the balance of the nation, to discuss these situations—the status, the prejudice and all the circumstances surrounding him in his new sphere. It is this that has caused the organization to invite some of the most thoughtful, discreet men of this country, irrespective of race, for three days to take into consideration these matters. To see if there can be found some way out, something to present that will result in lasting benefit to us. If the nation has time to give thought and consideration to China and Japan, to Hawaii, to the government and organization of the Philippines, to guardianship over Cuba, to the protectorate of Porto Rico (and quite recently to Panama), surely those who have been faithful to the flag, faithful to the cause of the nation under all circumstances, should at least receive some serious consideration at the hands of the lawmakers of this country. These vexed problems that grew out of the incidents that I have named should claim the attention of thinking men and women of this country. It is to that end we have gathered. We hope that we will have thoughtful speeches, words of wisdom uttered that will not die away as soon as they are uttered, but that the reverberation will be heard to be put into execution. Let us hope that we will have prudence as a guide, that we will have no rash declarations that will do harm rather than good, and that with no surrender of manly, American principles we shall speak out for the truth, the whole truth, and thoughtfulness. Let that be our voice and the course to be pursued.

The conference being thus opened for the transaction of business, a motion was adopted that the present officers constitute a committee to recommend such additional officers of the conference as might be necessary, and to arrange the order of procedure.

The committee made the following recommendations which were adopted:

(1) That a treasurer be appointed.

(2) That sessions of conference be held from 2 to 5.30 P. M.

(3) That the topics suggested by the Sociological Society be adopted by the conference.

(4) That the subject of race segregation be the first topic discussed.

(5) That the following members constitute the executive committee of the conference:

Prof. Jesse Lawson,
Gen. William Birney,
Prof. J. Hugo Johnston,
Dr. A. D. Mayo,
Mr. Daniel Murray.

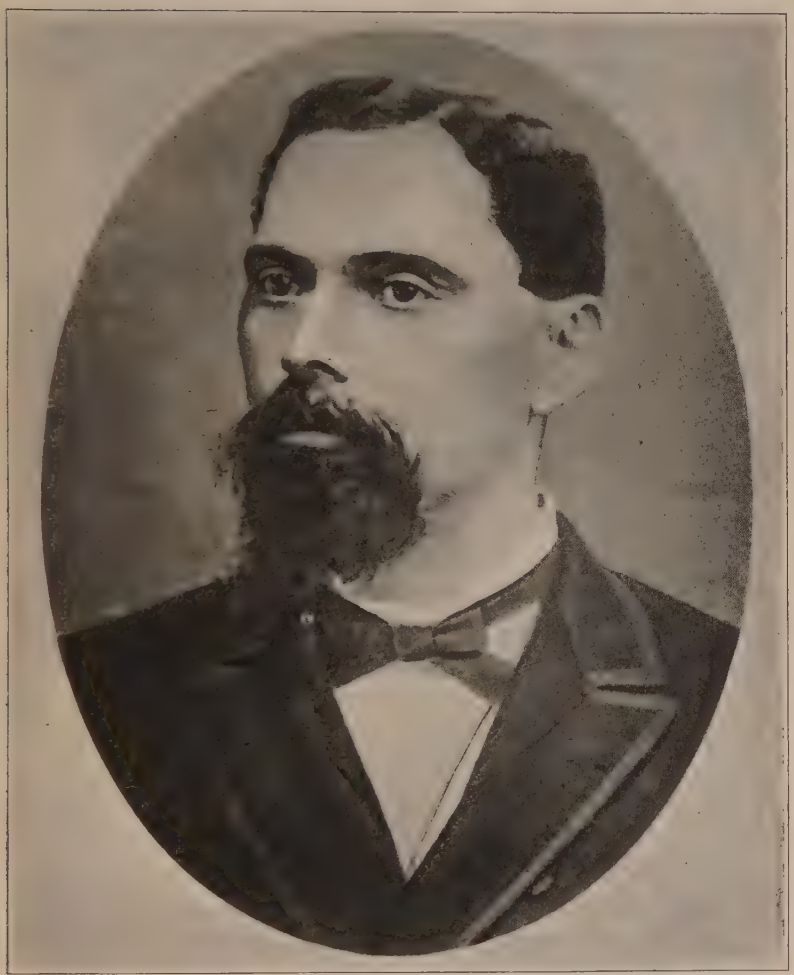
The following committee on resolutions was appointed:

Gen. Wm. Birney, Ch'man,	Prof. Roscoe C. Bruce,
Prof. Jesse Lawson,	Dr. A. D. Mayo,
Prof. Geo. W. Cook,	Prof. L. B. Moore,
Prof. Kelly Miller,	Prof. J. Hugo Johnston,
Mr. W. P. Burrell,	Mr. Daniel Murray.

The committee retired for deliberation.

Prof. George Wm. Cook, being asked to say a word on the work in hand, said that he did not wish to anticipate the subjects on the program.

Dr. S. L. Corrothers said: I am pleased to be present, and I hope you shall be able to accomplish all you desire. I am always glad of any meeting called for the purpose of advancing the interests of any people. For myself I am definitely decided as to the rights of the Negro as I am



REV. L. H. HOLSEY, D. D., ATLANTA, GA.,
Bishop of the C. M. E. Church.
Advocate of Race Segregation.

to the rights of all men. Regarding the Negro as a man he must be accorded the rights of a man. Anything less will not decide the problem. The doctrine of civil and political equality must be considered along with other interests. We must not overlook the fact that the remedial and fundamental principal underlying all is the right of the Negro to vote, to be treated as a man, as other men. American citizenship, the right to vote, is the fundamental thing. When the ballot is gone, incidentally schools and everything else will go with it. But this will be made clear. I have felt this all the while. I was born in South Carolina, but have lived in New York quite a while. I have heard the matter widely discussed, and my deep settled conviction in regard to this matter is that the Negro's being respected as a man is the foundation, and to attempt to bring him to the front in any other way is to leave him worse at the end than at the beginning.

The topic, "Race Segregation," was taken up in a paper by Bishop L. H. Holsey, after which it was decided to allow five minutes to any member who wished to take up the discussion.

Race Segregation.

At the Lincoln Temple Congregational Church, Monday, November 9, 1903.

Bishop Lucius H. Holsey, D. D., of the C. M. E. Church:

Ladies and Gentlemen, and Fellow Citizens: Perhaps there is no question or problem that confronts the wisdom, the patriotism, and philanthropy of American citizenship, greater and farther reaching in effect and results than the perplexing and momentous question of the racial problem.

According to public sentiment and private judgment, according to the construction of the fabric of society, the enactment of its laws and their execution, there is a serious

racial question; a question that strikes deep into the recesses of American life, taking hold of the basis of government and its advancing and expanding civilization; a profound question, upon which hinges the peace, happiness, and prosperity of all the people, and the possibilities and destiny of a great African race.

From any view point we may take, it is silly, if not madness, to ignore or set at naught this great problem of the races. That there is a problem, no one, who has surveyed the field and weighed and measured the active and operative factors therein contained, can deny. Seeking for the permanent adjustment of this question, and its satisfactory solution, a multiplicity of theories, of many degrees and forms, have been presented for consideration. It also appeals to the candid thought of the North and of the South, and to the patience of the black race, who, by no design of their own, are yet the cause of conflicting forces. It may be presumed as axiomatic that to every problem that arises out of the government of a nation there may be found a method of adjustment and solution. Just as sure as all the parties concerned seek the solution with patriotism and philanthropic impulse, any question thus arising may be settled in a way to preserve the peace, protect the civil order, and advance the interest of all.

As our subject is "race segregation," or the separation of the races, we shall state what is meant. Segregation does not mean colonization, exportation or emigration. It does not mean the banishment of Afro-Americans to any foreign country or realm, within the limits or beyond the limits of our flag. Neither does it mean for Afro-Americans to be sent to the Pacific Islands, acquired and held by our Federal Government, but it means that the Government set apart some territory, or parts of some of the public domain, for the specific purpose of forming a State or States for qualified Afro-American citizens. This is what we understand and

advocate as segregation, and this is what we shall proceed to elaborate and set forth as clearly and briefly as we can.

The first reason for segregation lies in the dominant fact that the infinite volume of racial prejudice makes it impossible for the two separate and distinct races to live together in the same territory in harmonious relations, each demanding equal political rights and equal citizenship. Whether prejudice is an attribute of human nature or the cultivated and cherished adjunct of circumstances is a subtle question which we do not now attempt to discuss. But we know from history and by experience that it does exist, and it is as old as those racial traits of physical character by which one race is distinguished from another. Whether fundamental or cultivated, it has played a great part in the world's civilization and the history of the nations, often affecting the interests of universal humanity. It is deepest and bitterest and has its most prolonged conflict when it hinges upon opposite racial peculiarities and characteristics. In other words, prejudice is the strongest and the most enduring where extremes in natural racial physical distinctions meet, and where it is assumed that one is inferior to the other, because of color, previous condition or of tribal or natural origin and relation. Although it is difficult to assimilate very distinct and dissimilar races and peoples, yet it is the clearest thing to impartial decision that the Afro-American people accept and absorb very readily the pith and germs of civic life or take on the present civilization. It also seems that, so far as the Southern portion of our country is concerned, this prejudice is not only destined to continue indefinitely, but is on the increase and growing in volume, force and depth. The ruling people of the South not only make it a special end to be obtained and to dominate the South with it, but efforts are made to spread it in the North and circulate it through all parts of the nation, so as to make the down-trodden African people to be despised by those who have shown their friendship for them in the past.

The bitterness, the antagonisms, the racial feuds and bloody riots in which the black man is the extreme sufferer, grow out of this fearful element in human nature. As the races now stand, and as they must stand in the South, there is no power inherent in government to remove it or destroy it, or even to ameliorate or soften its force or ferocity. Those elements and factors by which the phases of social and political life have been changed and made to fit and harmonize with new relations and conditions have no perceptible effect or bearing in the present case. Time measured by decades and years, the recognized agency and the ancient power that revolutionize thought, opinions, judgment and actions, cannot change or destroy this old gory monster of the centuries. It is deaf to reason and to all appeals upon grounds of justice, equity and the high principles of righteousness and mercy, which are the only true bases of a just government. Christianity, like other religions, stands appalled in its massive shadow and quails before its grim visage. It denies and despises "the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God," even while it professes the religion of the lowly Nazarene. The force of arms, the triumph of conquering armies, the commands and edicts of governments neither destroy nor control its savage nature nor reduce the plenitude of its power.

Not only does prejudice lead to oppression, the subversion of justice and right, but there is nothing more serious and more in evidence than the fact that there is a vast legalized scheme throughout the South to set the iron heel more permanently and desperately upon the head of the black man as a race, and as individual characters. There would be hope to the rejected and aspiring Afro-American if good character and becoming behavior would or could count for anything in the civic arena. But we are now confronted by conditions where merit in the black man does not weigh one iota in human rights, and very little in human life, if that life and character is under a black or

brown skin. Learning, personal accomplishments, the achievement of wealth, the reign of morality, and skilled handicraft amount to nothing whatever in the black man. Merit and fitness for citizenship and advanced qualifications for the high and holy functions of civil life cannot win for him the rights and safety that is the natural and God-given inheritance of all. Nowhere in the South is the black man as safe in his person and property as is the white man. No Negro can feel the same assurance of protection and safety, even in the absence of the mob, as those of the opposite or ruling race. The laws and police regulations are one thing to the white people, but quite another thing to the black people.

Black men and black women, though cultured and refined, are treated as serfs and subjected to every imaginable insult and degradation that can be invented or discovered by an ill-plighted and perverse ingenuity.

But especially do we see and feel the power of oppression in the construction and operation of the laws and that sentiment that gave them birth and execution, and which is stronger, more exacting than the written laws themselves. Ever since President Hayes had his seat in the White House, when the State governments reverted to the control of the original South, step by step, the legislative enactments have drawn the cords of discrimination and oppression with increasing stringency and an intensifying vindictiveness that seem phenomenal and inhuman. If by these methods of oppression and hardship entailed on black citizens anything could be gained or added to the happiness and prosperity of the dominant people, there might be some reason or cause for its existence. No morals are to be improved by it, no greater degree of polished manners is to be achieved, and nothing but self-debauchment to the oppressor and degradation to the oppressed are to be gained. And since there is nothing to be gained, it is evident that the only object in view is to oppress and destroy the prog-

ress and development of the Afro-American people, a people who have never sought to do them a wrong or an injury. The desire on their part is to make Negro freedom and possibilities a total and signal failure, and defeat the ends of a better Negro manhood, and prove as true the oft repeated assertion that "the black race is incapable of rising to the dignity of a full-fledged common citizenship." They believe that it is wrong to educate the Negroes beyond a small degree of handicraft, suitable only for the most menial service and the smallest wages.

It is a fact, now universally known and acknowledged, that the political rights and privileges conferred on the black race by the general Government have been totally and irretrievably annihilated in almost every part of the South. Where they have failed in total destruction of these rights by direct legislation, they have annulled them by a system of evasions and subterfuges. The votes of black citizens are no longer factors of consideration in the political equation, as they are shorn of all those sacred functions and agencies by which the highest and best citizenship is attained. This not only helps to degrade and destroy legitimate aspiration and subverts the operating faculties of respectable and decent manhood, but reduces the millions of the black race to a growing and enlarging system of serfdom and political peonage that is but a little short of abject slavery. Neither does it appear that there is any remedy or appeal by which these flagrant wrongs and perversions of civil rights can be adjusted and made to comply with the demands of true American citizenship. It may be stated as axiomatic, *that no people can advance in true American citizenship and reach high moral and political ideals in the functions and practices of the franchise, when they are excluded from it and from those responsibilities that must follow its exercise.* The destruction of a "free ballot and a fair count" not only destroys the national guarantee of protection, of liberty, person and property, but must prove in the end a threaten-

ing calamity to the Federal compact of States and dangerous to the freedom of its citizens. In the South the millions of black people are denied this guarantee of protection to life, liberty and property, with no hope or chance of redress. There is no appeal, unless from Cæsar to Cæsar, which is equivalent to no appeal at all. At the same time the general Government does nothing to defend and preserve its great and majestic acts of sovereign right embodied in the Constitution of the United States, but allows the evil to fasten its grip upon all the States of the South.

This puts the Negro race not only in a state of semi-serfdom, but the methods employed and the efforts to further submerge the natural and political rights of Negro manhood grow apace as the days go by. How, then, can the Afro-American rise to the dignity of good citizenship and aspire to its possibilities, when political rights, privileges and agencies are taken from him? Can he make bricks without straw, or do the impossible? Indeed, he is in a deplorable condition, from whatever standpoint we view the situation.

It has been supposed by most of the leading Negro men, as well as many philanthropic friends in the North, that whenever the Negro is prepared for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, by culture, wealth and moral standing, and that whenever he becomes a skilled artisan and scientific farmer, then as a race the white people of the South will bestow upon him equal political privileges with themselves. And thus it is claimed that a certain sort of education and training is calculated to settle the problem of the races. At first glimpse this seems a fair presumption, and maybe it ought to be so, and we heartily wish that it might so result. But experience contradicts it and leaves us hopeless of obtaining the rights and privileges of suffrage and cognate rights of citizenship.

To make this clearer, no man of color, no matter how cultured and worthy, or however accomplished, refined

and fitted, has ever been allowed to occupy the same civic plane with the white man of the South for a single hour. In this respect Bishop Turner, Frederick Douglass, or Dr. Booker T. Washington has no more chance than the most degraded of our race. It would approximate a small riot should such Negro celebrities attempt to enter a hotel or public resort, assuming the airs of equality on the civic plane. Hence all Negroes are excluded from positions and places of lucrative employment, with the irrevocable negation, "No Negroes are wanted." He may be better prepared than the white applicant, but prejudice forbids the black race to enter. As the black man of the South approximates the standard of Anglo-Saxon civic life in its best phases and highest standard of excellence, race feelings, antagonisms, and antipathies will increase in bitterness, extent and intensity. And this will be so as long as one race is white and the other black, both occupying the same physical territory.

There is no force or power, apparently, at command to regulate and harmonize diverse elements and social agencies so dissimilar as are seen in the racial phase of the body politic. As long as the Negro is a black man, and as long as the opposite individual is a white man, so long must the social factors and political entities war against each other.

Race traits and race peculiarities are the natural and enduring faculties that prolong the war and the bitter strife of inharmonious relations.

It is true, legally allowed amalgamation would settle all racial difficulties by the natural process of absorption and disintegration of racial characteristics, but that is a thing unthinkable, unlegalizable and beyond the realms of debate. It is undeniable that amalgamation is going on in the South, and legal marriages to some extent in the North; but in both sections of the country it is slow, while the products of the same are rejected by the ruling race to the same extent as the typical Negro. Where it is illegal it is a crime,

and conflicts with the code of decency and morality. It debauches the moral sense and destroys the purity and dignity of young Negro motherhood, and debases both sexes in their moral natures. Legal intermarriage in the South, although not wrong in its consummation, is a matter as yet undebatable, and belongs only to the future.

But comparing the present situation with the history of Anglo-Saxon life, we see no chance for the Negro race to hold its identity of racial traits and characteristics, while the percentage of Negro blood infused into Anglo-Saxon veins is too small to change, to any perceptible degree, the distinctive features of visible or physical character.

As long as the two races live in the same territory in immediate contact, their relations will be such as to intermingle to that degree where "half bloods," quarter bloods, and a mongrel progeny will result. This is not only going on now, but is destined to annihilate the true typical antebellum Negro type, and put in his place a stronger, a longer lived, and a more Anglo-Saxon-like, homogeneous race. In other words, the Negro to come will not be the Negro of the emancipation proclamation, but he will be the Anglo-Saxonized Afro-American. It seems true, as has been said, "No race can look the Anglo-Saxon in the face and live." Certainly no other race can hold its own in his immediate presence. Being in immediate contact, and underrating the mental and moral virtues of others and exercising a suzerainty over them, his opportunities are enlarged to make other races his own in consanguinity. This he never fails to do.

It is often said the difficulties, growing out of the race problem, would be greatly reduced in enormity if the Negroes would remain in the rural districts and on the farms. At first view this assertion seems to accord with reason, common sense and the best interest of the race. Certainly it appears that such conditions are the best for the Negro masses, and most promotive of moral and physical health,

as well as advancement in social and material economics. Indeed, it is to be regretted, if not lamented, that great masses of Negroes leave the country districts and farms and herd and cluster in the towns and cities. But since this is done, there must be some real cause for it, a cause that enters deeply into the interest and material welfare. Neither is it strange when we consider the fact that in the country or rural districts of the South, no Negro, or at best few Negroes, feel safe in their person and property. Often they are ruthlessly and unnecessarily insulted, abused, lynched, killed, or driven from their homes without the slightest hope of protection or redress. Often their mothers, sisters and daughters are corrupted and debauched almost before their eyes, yet nothing is done to stop the wicked and nefarious practice or bring to punishment the evil doer. Besides wages are small, and in many instances, are a mere pittance to keep soul and body together. Of course, there are some honorable exceptions, but they are few and far between.

The school system in the country is a mere shadow and a real farce. The very fact that Negroes in great masses leave the country and resort to towns and cities shows an unrest and a fervid disquietude that rest upon apprehension and real cause. Even those who have been able to procure homes of their own, along with other substantial belongings, are in a state of uneasiness and mental perturbation. They do not know how soon they may be falsely accused by some trifling and envious white man and lynched by the cruel and bloody mob. For as soon as the black man in the rural districts gets a home with a farm attached and reaches a state of prosperity, then the jealousies of the white people are aroused and excited, and the prosperous Negro is watched and criticised. Here the conflict of opposite races begins and ends in total defeat for the black man. Indeed, there is little or no chance for the black man in the country if he grows rich, polished, and puts on style, or tries to be

equal to the white neighbor in civic attainments. Good breeding, politeness, kindness, self-respect and all the virtues may be added and retained by a black man, as have been attained by many, but these, instead of helping him to live in the esteem of his white neighbor, actually put him in a precarious condition, and endangers his life and property. Thus we see, from this view, there is absolutely no chance for the Negro race in the country districts to live and prosper without a state of incertitude and unrest.

It approximates the largest truth as well as covers the most dogmatic and momentous phase of this great question that now confronts and perplexes us, when we say that *two distinct peoples can never live together in the South in peace, when the one is Anglo-Saxon and the other Negro, unless the Negro, as a race or en masse, lives in the submerged realm of serfdom and slavery.*

It is true, there is room enough in territorial extent; there is abundance of water, sky and land, but on the social and political plane there is not room enough for both races as civil equals. The white people of the South have not been willing in the past; they are less willing now, and reason and experience teach us that they will not be willing at anytime in the endless future for the race of black men to become their political equals, or occupy the same plane of freedom and citizenship, with themselves, no matter how well qualified they may be for it. It is folly, if not idiotic, unless the supernatural intervenes, of which we have promise, to expect it at all.

One of the most far-reaching and fatal attributes of the great problem, now considered, is the constant and widespread practice of debauching the young motherhood of the Negro race by the ruling people. Perhaps there is nothing connected with the life of a race so damaging and destructive to its morals, mental expansion and physical development as to have its mothers corrupted and despoiled of their procreative sanctity. It can but beget a race of weaklings

and effeminates in moral, mental and physical health. How a people are to become wise, upright and healthy in body and mind while their mothers, daughters and sisters are polluted in their genital powers is hard to see. As like begets like, and as criminals beget criminals, and as the parent is reflected and duplicated in the natural offsprings, so the race, thus corrupted by miscegenation and clandestine production, must ride to its downfall and racial dissolution. It does not help the case to argue that the black women ought to resist, or that their virtue ought to be a guarantee of successful resistance against attack. True, it ought to be so, and yet it was never so. But environments and conditions have much to do with it. Wisdom and philanthropy would suggest that the best situation be assumed and the best conditions arranged so as to make the resisting power stronger by diminishing the opportunities of the advancing foe.

But a serious phase and a damaging factor of this question are the constant and universal tendency in the South to gradually reduce the great bulk of the Negro race to a state of serfdom and peonage. So usual and constant is the progressive work of this form of degradation and oppression that even Negroes themselves seem to accept it as a matter of course, or as what is expected, while philanthropic people have no knowledge of it, or in some way pass it by unheeded. None but those who have lived and traveled through the rural districts of the South and made it a study can enter its many-threaded details, and comprehend the subtle and evasive methods by which the Negroes are kept at the lowest ebb of civil life. It is in the small details of every-day life, with the customs, sentiment and tendencies, by which the true state of the race is seen in connection with the ruling people. Prejudice, discrimination and double dealing crop out in almost every business transaction. White men expect to be treated differently from black men, while black men never expect to be treated with the same degree of civility as white people receive. There is one code of morals and civil

ethics for the white-skinned man and another for the black-skinned man, with the heaviest of its iron hand resting upon the head of the black man, on his children and his civilization, if civilization it be. It is both terrible and monstrous, and perhaps the greatest phenomenon of the whole racial problem, that black men, or any other race of men, would or could stand quietly by and neglect the opportunities of the golden hour to throw off the yoke and repel the smiting hand that enwreathes and rivets the heavy steel upon their necks. Even evasions and the signalizing and the ponderous stroke of universal aversion are neglected, and the slow death is left in the coils of the always forging links and lengthening chains of a second form of old slavery. There are those who believe that the South can and ought to be allowed to settle the race problem in her own way. For this she clamors and pleads to be "let alone." The white people of the South vehemently declare that they can settle it, and we do not doubt their willingness and ability to do so. But how? Where will the black man stand if he stands at all? Let the history of the great past and the transactions of the present answer.

To allow the South to settle this great question in its own way simply means to degrade the black race and remand and doom the black people to an inexorable peonage and eternal serfdom. The proposition is utterly incompatible with reason and what should be expected. Colleges and schools of high grade, and such enabling facilities of human development would become obsolete, and a liberal and substantial cultural process, that alone can develop a people, will become things of the past, known only as facts of an historic age.

The great majority of the Southern white people hold that education ruins the Negro, and especially the higher education or collegiate training, and more especially under Northern white teachers. They make the claim that it unfits him for usefulness and that kind of citizenship that belongs to

him as an inferior. Anything that takes the black man from the ditch, the cane farm or the cotton field as a mere menial laborer, as a "hewer of wood and drawer of water," is adverse to his best estate, God-given and ordained, and whoever, therefore, attempts to do it, or whoever succeeds or partially succeeds in doing so, is the Negro's greatest enemy and a giant foe to the South; that the friend of the Negro is absolutely and necessarily an enemy of the South. This is so absurd, and contrary to fact, reason and history that it requires no serious attempt for signal and complete contradiction. Education and training help every creature to fulfill better the ends of being and the onerous duties of life. The trained horse, the cultured dog, the domiciled and domesticated animals are all made better and more useful in their operating sphere by the cultural process. Why not the Negro? Is he any less than the beast of the field?

But the South cannot settle this problem any more than it could settle the long and bloody problem of slavery. In the very nature of the case it is a national question, a question too big for the South. It belongs before the bar of the whole Nation. Even if it were not national in its scope and depth, the South would be an incompetent juror, because she is not willing for all of her people, black and white, to enjoy equal privileges and rights, even when given by the central Government. Such a juror could not render an impartial verdict.

Again, it is national because none but the Nation has the strong hand and fullness of power competent to meet the issue and adjust relations. Then, again, it involves national honor and national law. Neither can it rest where it is. It is an historic as well as a philosophical truism that no question in government can be settled until it is settled right. It must be settled right in the native fundamentals and cohesive elements and faculties. All of the people must be free and allowed to enjoy their natural and lawful rights, or else the conflict must and will continue. So long as there is a part of the people oppressed and denied the

rights and privileges of citizenship that is designed to be universal and applicable to all, the problem cannot be settled. It cannot be settled any more than the question of slavery could have been settled, leaving the slaves in slavery. Slavery, which stood and towered and lifted its hideous form, dripping with the innocent blood of the slave, stood for awhile in the emblazoned arena of American liberty, but it fell and sent the tremor of its fall through the approaching decades, with whose blighting shadow we are fighting today! And until right triumphs and oppression and wrong cease, the unity of truth and the reign of God forbid a cessation of hostilities.

But, as we see no chance for the black man to arrive at his best and highest possibilities and the noble ends of the best citizenship in the same territory with the white people of the South, segregation is proposed as the best, the most practicable and desirable method in the solution of the racial problem. Black men are as much citizens of the American federation of States as white men. They should never rest or cease legitimate efforts until full and plenipotent citizenship is given to them, the same as to white men. They should contend for it as the dearest, as the highest privilege, and the most sacred part of their national inheritance! If the white people of the South would accord to the African people the full measure of citizenship with themselves, allowing them to live upon the same plane of civil life, we could ask no more, and the racial problem would cease to be a problem. But since this is not done, and since it seems to be clear that it will not be done, then we ask for a settlement of our racial troubles by separation and segregation of the races in the South, at least.

We ask for a State or States, or a Territory, or a part or parts of Territories within the limits of the United States, our great country. To reach these ends, the following propositions may be considered within the limits of possibilities:

I. There is a great problem growing out of the fact tha

two distinct races or peoples are occupying the same territory under the same government and laws; that they are so distinct and dissimilar in racial traits, instincts and character, that it is impossible for them to live together on equal terms of social and political relation, or on terms of equal citizenship.

II. The problem of the races is inter-racial and national, affecting the entire country in its vast interests, prosperity and progress. And, therefore, it is the duty of the general Government to settle it, as that is the only power that can do it.

III. The segregation of the races is the most practicable, logical, and equitable solution of the problem.

IV. Segregation and separation should be gradual and classified by a qualified citizenship, and non-compulsory, so as not to injure or retard labor, capital, and commerce in those States where the Negro is an important factor of production and consumption.

V. To make the movement operative and effective, the Negro population of the Southern States should send petitions to the President and the Congress of the United States of America asking for segregation. They should ask for suitable territory in the great Republic, as legal and equal citizens of the Union, and not go out of their country to be exposed to doubtful experiment and foreign complications. Afro-Americans should remain in their own country, and in the zone of greatness, and in the latitude of progress.

VI. The Government would, providing segregation materializes, establish and maintain suitable laws, regulations, and safe grounds for the maintenance of the civil order, peace, progress, and prosperity.

VII. The place or places, or the territory may be selected by competent authority from the western part of the public domain, such as a part of the Indian Territory, New Mexico, or other parts of the great West.

VIII. No white person or persons should be allowed to

obtain citizenship in such a State or Territory, unless identified with the Negro race by marriage, and those who may be appointed by the Government to expedite and control the Federal interests, provided also that the general public have the same privileges, rights, protection and safety in the segregated Territory as in the other States of the Union.

IX. There should be some easy and practical qualifications required of those who are to become citizens of the segregated Territory. They should have, at least, a reputable character, some degree of education, and perhaps a competency for one year's support. Criminals and undesirable persons should be kept out, as far as possible, until they are properly qualified to meet the requirements.

It may be said and will be said that it will be impossible to keep the white man out and the black man in. But let it be remembered that the object is not to keep the white man out or the black man in, but to establish a State or States in which alone the Afro-American people may dominate by eligibility to political office, the public trust and control; thus conferring upon them all the rights of full and free citizenship enjoyed by others, and which is denied them in the Southern States.

Of course, citizens of all States would be free to come and go, but none to acquire citizenship unless identified with the Negro race. Afro-Americans have no desire, as a race, to create friction, antagonisms and strife, but ask and demand at this time the rights and privileges authorized by the Government.

It is to be admitted that the plan of segregation here presented is environed and beset with many difficulties. We realize the stern fact that any plan to settle the racial problem, which may be presented, will have not only its difficulties, but its objectors. But any plan which may be proposed for the solution of the question cannot be surrounded nor carry more difficulties and perplexities than the present state and condition of the races. No plan or

method of solution can produce more bitterness, alienation, degradation, bloodshed and death than the present state of affairs.

But especially will it be urged by friends as well as by the enemies of the Afro-American people that the Negro is incapable of self-government and control. But how do they know? Where has it ever been tried under conditions that may be obtained within the Federal Union? Besides, if the Government of the United States cannot control and direct a few millions of its citizens who may be segregated for the peaceful solution of a great national problem, it would be too weak and ephemeral to hold its parts together. The idea is preposterous and fallacious in the extreme.

Not only has the Negro some degree of American civilization engrafted upon his progressive and developing manhood, but he has a large and increasing percentage of Anglo-Saxon blood in his veins, and consequently Anglo-Saxon life. He is not only patriotic and devoted to his country, but the trend of events and the stern logic of fact and principle show him to be capable of civilization and susceptible of being wrought into the social and political compact. What is most needed for his development is a chance to be a man, an open door for his possibilities.

It is often affirmed in the South that "this is a white man's country." This is freely admitted, but it is equally true that it is also the black man's country. The country belongs to every man born on its soil, black or white. If it is the white man's country in any supreme or particular sense, it furnishes an important reason why he should be just and humane to all, most especially to under-graduates in civil life.

It may be argued that many Southern people will oppose the separation of the races upon the ground that such would destroy the labor element of the South, and thus retard expansion and progress. This may be or will be found to be true in some degree, but it is becoming more and more

evident that Negro labor is growing less important as a factor of production in the South. It is not now more than one-half of the labor employed in field and shop. A large proportion of it has gone North, East and West, and is still going, until ere long the great black belts of the South must be numbered with the things of the past.

As a laborer in the South, the Negro has been the dearest and the most expensive that a country has ever had in the history of nations. The Southern people have already paid an enormous price for the Negro as a slave, and still the astounding debt bears interest, compounding itself as the years go by. Heaps of gold and almost endless treasure have been paid for his blood and bones as a labor element. Brave sons, noble sires, and intrepid chieftains, queenly women, with the flower of the land have been slain upon its high places. Millions of drops of blood have been poured out as a bloody libation at the shrine of the swarthy Moloch. And it seems apparent that the union of States that has cost so much will never be one with a tenacious integrity until black Ham and white Japheth shall dwell in separate tents.

In a State to themselves, within the Federal Union, the Negro would become a free and full-fledged citizen, with all the immunitities, privileges and political rights that belong to American citizens without friction, envy and jealousies. Then the Negro, as a man and a race, would have a chance to develop his mental powers, his physical character, and his essential responsibilities as an American citizen. The responsibilities that would come with a degree of self-government would inspire, qualify and stimulate to supreme effort in life, and thus help the Anglo-Saxon man and brother to carry his great civilization to a higher plane and a loftier altitude of ideal perfection.

Indeed, the Union of the States will never be fully and perfectly re-cemented with tenacious integrity until black Ham and white Japheth dwell together in separate tents.

REV. WALTER H. BROOKS, D. D.:

I enjoyed very much the reading of the paper by the distinguished essayist. The writer has certainly bestowed a great deal of labor on it. I agree with everything that is in it, except its *solution* of the Negro Problem. I do not believe that there is any hope for the Negro in segregation anywhere under the Stars and Stripes. If we were segregated, in this our home-land, or upon the isles of distant seas, the discovery of gold, or springs of oil, would cause us to be flooded with the other people, and it would soon be necessary for us to seek new territories, only to lose them in turn, until our enterprising brother of the more advanced race had pushed us into Paradise itself. The history of the Indian on American soil, should satisfy us that segregation is not practical, to say the least, under our form of government. I believe that a part of the colored people should leave the overcrowded sections of the South, whenever they can better their condition by doing so. But, as long as we are citizens of this great country, let us not cease to live and move and have our being *in the midst* of the other people of this land. Our problem as Americans all is to find out how the lion and the lamb may lie down together in perfect peace and safety to each and to both under the flag and the Constitution. Has not experience taught us, that when the black citizen is segregated in the cities of this country, public improvements are slow in coming his way, while the brother of darker hue, who resides in the midst of the other people, brings his children to womanhood and manhood in the midst of environments which tell for good upon body and soul?

Segregation is not the remedy for the ills we suffer. There is only one remedy, and that is to *get the white man right, so that he will deal justly with his fellow-man of darker hue.* We may be segregated, or driven out of the South, but there will be no solution of the Negro Problem until *the white man* is willing to do by his neighbor what he knows to be just and right in the sight of a heart-searching God.

We hear it said, "Let *the black man* learn to plow with intelligence; let *the black man* improve his morals; let *the black man* get education." Amen! But none of these improvements, however much they may help to solve the question, can ever solve it. The trouble is with *the other man*, and you must work on *him*. For it is useless to hope for a satisfactory solution of the Negro Problem, until there is wrought in *the brain and heart of the white man* a reformation of thought and feeling toward his black brother. I believe that the white man is going to set himself right with his God, and right with his fellow-man, and the black man, North and South, will be securely settled and protected in the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of American citizenship.

Until that time shall come, we will brook the ills we suffer, trusting in the help of Almighty God, or perish at the hands of a Christian people who brought our fathers hither, not to be segregated, but to live and die in their midst. Let us not go anywhere. The Cross is often the way to the Throne. "Stand still and see the salvation of God," for Jehovah is not indifferent to our tears and our toils.

REV. HARVEY JOHNSON, D. D.:

If you were not going to have about three days on this matter and I had thought that only five minutes were to be allotted to me I should have stayed in Baltimore. I hardly know what to say. It covers so much ground. The paper discussed a problem which has already been deemed impracticable. Cuba and the Philippines were not let alone. The Indian was segregated without his will; did they let him alone? Shall we be in peace if we are segregated? I think we are pretty well segregated as it is. All over the South they are getting another car for you and me, another waiting room, and Ham and Shem are dwelling in separate tents now. We must accept the condition if we want separation, and you've got it if the white man will agree on his side to stay separated, especially on the one point, the sexual point; talking about our women being debauched, if he will stay away they will be all right. I do not think that we absorb readily the Anglo-Saxon civilization; we absorb American civilization Anglo-Saxon civilization was barbarous in the extreme; the more we absorb of it the more we are harmed.

PROF. F. W. FAIRFIELD:

I want to endorse what Dr. Brooks has said. When people in this country learn to deal justly and walk humbly with their God, then this question will be solved. No make-shifts will settle it. I hope to that end we all may pray and hope and live.

REV. OSCAR J. W. SCOTT, D. D.:

I would like to say that I have enjoyed the argument of Bishop Holsey very much. I have, however, listened attentively to see if he has brought us anything new upon this subject, but I have listened in vain. We are getting to the place, now, in the discussion of this problem, where it has become so vexed that it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, we ought to conclude and stand by the conclusion that it is absolutely a "pipe dream" to think of getting the Negro into any State or Territory and there expect him to be able to enjoy all the rights of citizenship in America. I heard it debated during my boyhood days, when a student at College, that "the Negro ought to be set apart in a separate State or Territory, and, whether he was sufficiently intelligent to have a place in the Senate and to have a chance to become President of the United States."

It is an absolute impossibility for the Negro to evolve himself into a proper citizen without working upon the other fellow. It is the other fellow who will not let us alone and who objects to our evolution. Mr. Douglass said, "there is no Negro problem. The only problem is, whether there be enough Christian character and fidelity in the whites to live up to their own professions and convictions." And, Mr. Chairman, I am prepared to say today that I quite agree with him.

It is an open secret that the purpose of the new Constitutions of Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama and Virginia, is to deprive the Negro of his manhood rights; first, of suffrage by nullifying the Fifteenth Amendment, and second, by taking away the badge of citizenship, to reduce him to the condition of serfdom.

REV. OSCAR J. W. SCOTT, D. D.,
Pastor, Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, Washington, D. C.
Member, Executive Committee, National Sociological Society.

His disqualification as an elector shuts him out of the hope of justice, of home, and of happiness. The only thing then for us, if possible, is not to allow the ballot to be taken from us and then go hunting to find a way of solution, when there can be none so long as the Negro is denied citizenship. Our fight is for each of us to demand his full right as a man in whatever State or Territory he may live.

MR. R. C. BRUCE:

I confess to feeling no interest in Bishop Holsey's romancing. The problem that actually confronts us is (1) that Negro population has in fact already segregated in considerable black belts, and (2) that, unless the germs of self-efficiency already discoverable in those belts are nourished, Haitian conditions may appear on American soil.

The tendency of Negro population to segregate is apparent, not only in States like Alabama, but in cities like Philadelphia. Thus, the Seventh Ward in Philadelphia contains nearly one-fourth of the Negro population of the city and 42 per cent. of the population of the Seventh Ward are Negroes. The policy demanded in the black belt of Alabama is in principle needed in the black ward of Philadelphia.

Confining ourselves to the most important black belts of the lower South, we wish first to inquire their extent. From Baton Rouge to points north of Memphis is a broad belt many miles in average width bordering the Mississippi, but chiefly to the east of the river, in each county of which the proportion of the Negro population to the total is 60 per cent. and over. Similarly from east central Mississippi another such belt starts and goes through Alabama and Georgia and South Carolina to the ocean; in this second belt Tuskegee is located. In Alabama there are 15 counties in each of which the Negro population is 60 per cent. or more of the total population; and in the black belt constituted by these counties, or 22 per cent. of the total land area of the State, the Negro population is more than 77 per cent. of the total population. In the black belt constituted by 21 counties or 33 per cent. of the land area of Alabama, the Negro population is more than 72 per cent. of the total population. A mere glance at such statistics suffices to show that over vast areas of land in the States of the lower South, the Negro population is numerically predominant. As is well known, this land is the most fertile in the South. And the black counties get blacker every year!

Now, such a situation would be very dangerous unless the black population exhibits self-efficiency. How far that population does this, may roughly be tested by the statistics of ownership of farms; the Negro population is essentially agricultural.

The census compares similar statistics for the fifteen counties with the largest percentage of Negro farmers in each of seven Southern States — the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas,—with the fifteen counties in each of the same States with the smallest percentage. 15.2 per cent. of the Negro farmers in the black counties were owners as against 23.5 per cent. in the white counties—a superiority in ownership for the Negroes of the white counties of

ROSCOE CONKLING BRUCE, A. B.,
Director, Academic Department, Tuskegee Institute.
Member, Committee on Resolutions, Sociological Conference on the Race Problem.

55 per cent. "The Negro," says the report, "makes the better progress the more closely he is associated with the white man and the more he is enabled to see in the example of the white man an incentive for becoming a land owner. Take away the example by segregating the colored man from the white, as in the black belt of the South, repeat Haiti in a lesser degree, and some of the Haitian conditions are produced. Under such conditions the progress of the colored man is slower, and the white man as well as the Negro fails to realize the benefits of an improved industrial order."

Remembering that the Negro farmer in a black county is less apt to be an owner than the Negro farmer in a white county, we may wisely examine conditions in a black county which is roughly representative. There is a county in Alabama—and not the blackest—in which there are 5,664 whites and 25,347 Negroes; of the population over 10 years of age 436 whites and 10,347 Negroes are illiterate. Of course, this is a farming county and 75 per cent. of the farms are operated by Negroes. Of the 2,881 farms operated by Negroes only 283 are operated by Negroes who own the land and 158 by Negro part owners; these men represent the germs of self-efficiency. The Negroes in the Black Belt are of small economic efficiency; they lack incentives and the higher wants; their lives are cabined, cribbed, confined, bound into the monotony of unintelligent toil. Mr. Kelly Miller says very justly that the rural Negro is "embalmed, as it were, in a state of nature."

To save the souls of black folk, to counteract the evident tendency to approximate Haiti on American soil, to rescue vast fertile regions from under-productivity,—for these and many other reasons the social and industrial regeneration of these black belts is desirable. Fundamentally, that regeneration must be industrial, and in this fact is seen the immense significance of the industrial school. The service rendered by Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in the last twenty-two years has been simply incalculable. Recognizing the black belts as actual, recognizing that black counties get blacker and white counties whiter year by year, the Master of Tuskegee has been and is bending every effort to multiply and to nourish the germs of self-efficiency in the dense black populations; his endeavors deserve the hearty sympathy of this Conference. The success of his endeavor is the strengthening of civilization.

REV. GEO. F. BRAGG, of Baltimore:

This is not generally true everywhere. In Baltimore the colored people are scattered in all parts, even in the splendid residential portions of the city. I do not think this idea has to do with the main idea. There is this to be said, there are thousands of people who want light and guidance, who are moving away because they cannot stand existing conditions. They can be guided northward and southward and won't make black belts, but scatter themselves in white communities. Just in proportion as a few colored people scatter here and there, they gather up the light of the community and are lost sight of. The trouble is, that they get together in a black belt. Had they been guided and sent to various communities they

would have gotten along better. As it is, they become a nuisance and dampen the ardor of their white friends. A different course would strengthen the hands of those who fight their battles.

DR. S. L. CORROTHERS:

I would like to say regarding the massing that, I am from New York, and have visited most of the large cities in that State, and when we find large masses in sections it is not because they desire it but because they could not rent property in desirable portions. It is simply force of circumstances.

PROF. KELLY MILLER:

I have just one word to say, that while I do not regard Bishop Holsey's views for acceptation yet they are worthy of the highest respect. There are certain forces at work, but there are facts, and facts that must be faced. The Negro race in this country is segregated. It may be due to one cause or another. Analysis fixes this as true. Where the Negroes are more numerous in the black belts, the numbers have steadily increased. If you will take black belts within black belts, they are more than twice as numerous as the whites. So that we have now in this country an area of 150,000 square miles, a section as large as the New England States, New York and Philadelphia. There is also an opposite tendency, the white sections are increasing. In counties in which there are a very few colored people the tendency is toward increase over the colored. These tendencies are at work. What will be the result? It foreshadows the time when the two races will be more clearly separated in their habitat than today. It does not show that these people should be set off into separate territory. Here are data that we cannot set aside. We must deal with the facts. The real problem is not so much a political one. There must be found some influence which will serve to help things as we find them. The germ of self-efficiency is the most hopeful indication of the settlement. All they need is the proper stimulus in the course of time that will develop an independent territory.

REV. GEO. W. LEE:

I have nothing to say on this question. I am dreaming. I have read and heard and preached so much I think I have done my duty. No one man knows what will do it. The Constitution is equal to it if the American people had the courage to live up to it.

BISHOP L. H. HOLSEY in reply to arguments: I do not think that everybody understands me. I do not believe in wholesale segregation; it ought to be qualified. It would not interfere with the general status of society. Whatever has been revealed in the Scriptures has a double application and meaning. God sees the beginning and the end. The Children of Israel in bondage in Egypt could not keep the people together.

(Question: If the plan could be carried out what is to become of the colored people in all the other States?)

Conference adjourned.

HON. H. B. F. MACFARLAND,
President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia,
who made the Address of Welcome before the National Sociological Conference.

At the Nineteenth-Street Baptist Church, Monday, November 9, 1903, 8 o'clock P. M.

Address of Welcome

By HON. HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND,

President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia,

Before the Sociological Conference on the Race Problem.

CHAPTER IV.

It is an encouraging sign, like a ray of light through clouds, that white men and colored men are meeting together to consider in the scientific method, and, I trust, in a philanthropic spirit, what from its magnitude and difficulties we have come to call the race problem. Now that such questions are so prominent in all our thoughts that this can be called the age of problems—and the very word problem has become so common as to be hackneyed—all thoughtful and patriotic men and women are seriously concerned about what can be done to improve the conditions that raise the problem. Nothing, it seems to me, can do more for the solution of this particular question than to look at it steadily and clearly, so as to see the facts free from personal or racial prejudice in so far as that is possible to human nature. The disputes about the facts, usually so prejudiced, and therefore so unreasonable, have simply produced a bitterness of feeling not only unprofitable but detrimental. Anyone who reads much of what is said and written for the public on this subject must be saddened by the evidences of unfair and even untruthful argumentation which cannot possibly do any good, but must surely do much harm.

If it were possible for the representatives of the two races mutually and inextricably involved to meet together

in absolute fairness and frankness, and with an irenic spirit, they would be able to agree upon the facts, and that would go a long ways towards an agreement upon what might be done to improve the facts. That this conference may ultimately result in such a better understanding is my chief hope for it. Personally, as one for years deeply interested in this matter, as one who has read much that has been said and written about it, as one who appreciates all its peculiar characteristics, discouraging and otherwise, I maintain my hopefulness. I believe that there is light behind the clouds, and that they will finally flee away. My chief dependence is in the gradual but growing belief among the leaders of both races that the laws of nature cannot be repealed, but must be obeyed, and that they must be obeyed in the power of the spirit and example of Jesus Christ. What we call the Golden Rule, with all that it implies, contains the solution of the race problem, as of every other social question, and the only thing for us to do is to find as speedily as possible the best way to apply it generally and in practical living.

Response

By REV. I. L. THOMAS, D. D.,

Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. President, Members of the National Sociological Society, Ladies and Gentlemen: We have listened to an address of welcome which is to the point and will be helpful in solving the so-called Negro problem. If we had a thousand men in authority in the United States who would speak and act like President Roosevelt and Commissioner Macfarland, there would be no Negro problem in ten years. This conference of representative men of both races, the first of its kind in the history of the Republic, has a providential significance. It will sow seed in the hearts of the American people that will produce the fruit of peace, broth-

erly kindness and good will. We cannot look upon this mixed audience without observing the sign of true brotherhood. Who could doubt that our people are rising, and be sincere after looking upon this representative gathering? To study the situation of our race with our true and tried white friends will do much toward solving the Negro problem. We must expect those who are guided by prejudice to say much about us that is not true. The daily papers have been blind in what they have published concerning us. Much space has been given that our defects might be magnified. On the contrary, little space has been given showing the progress of our people. There are a great many people in this country who are wasting valuable time trying to work out some special legislation for us. We do not need it, and therefore ask for no assistance in that direction. The American intellect cannot reach its highest attainment so long as it feeds upon the so-called Negro problem. A great many persons would not be heard of among the white people if they had to write or speak upon something besides the Negro.

When the Church of Jesus Christ in the United States advocates uncompromisingly the recognition of the Negro as a man, as it does all other races and nationalities, then there will be no need of a special conference like this. We do not ask any special preferment by the dominant race. We simply desire a man's chance in every walk of life. Others have it, and why not we? What have we done to be despised and, as it were, trodden under foot? Why is it that every other man, regardless of condition, is preferred to us? Is it because of our color? Why should we be made to suffer for a thing for which we are not responsible?

Is it our condition? Who is responsible for it? The sin is laid at our door when it largely belongs to another. How can Christian America tolerate such unfair discrimination? It is a plain fact to every observing mind that the colored race in the United States is passing through the greatest struggle known in the history for the recogni-

tion of manhood. God and time will make us victorious in the struggle.

No fair-minded man can expect a human being to be satisfied with inhuman treatment. Such contentment would be contrary to the rights of humanity. The question of the hour is: "Shall the New Testament Christianity or prejudice reign in America?"

The ministers of the gospel and Christian people can dethrone the latter. Will they do it? Our white friends who have kindly consented to unite with us in this conference evidence thereby that they have hope in our race. Some white people are afraid to advocate our rights and privileges because they fear that it will encourage social equality. There can be no such thing as legislating social equality. It is the individual's right to say whom he shall entertain, and those who try to meddle with it go very far out of their way. We are expecting this conference to produce results which shall bring harmony and a better understanding between the two races.

Commissioner Macfarland has struck the keynote in his welcome address, and to his honor we would say, on behalf of the conference here assembled, we receive your words of welcome, believing that they have come from the heart of one whose devotion to mankind, regardless of race or color, has never been questioned. We ask that in performing your duties as a representative of the Government that you shall always advocate in the future that the Negro be treated and be given the same consideration in the race of life as any other man. Following such a principle you shall please your Maker and represent by example the religion taught and practiced by Jesus Christ. The time must eventually come when the white man and black man, who together have made this country what it is, will shake hands as a sign of their covenant—that they are united in the bonds of fellowship in the maintenance of American institutions, and will everywhere advocate the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

REV. A. D. MAYO, A. M., LL. D.,
Developer of Education in Southern States.
Chairman, Committee on Education, National Sociological Society.

THE DUTY OF THE WHITE AMERICAN TOWARDS HIS COLORED FELLOW-CITIZEN.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE NATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

By REV. A. D. MAYO, A. M., LL. D.

Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen of this Convention:

I have been invited to make the opening address before this convention of the National Sociological Society, on the subject: "What is the duty of the white American towards his colored fellow-citizen, and how can he be persuaded to perform that duty?"

To this question, I reply; first, to regard him, like every human being, a child of God, endowed with our common human nature, bound by the common obligations of morality, and appointed to the common destiny of the immortal life; and in all possible, reasonable, and practicable ways, under all conditions and circumstances, to aid him or her in the making of herself or himself the best possible woman or man.

Second, as a fellow-citizen of the republic; in all possible, reasonable, and practicable ways, under all circumstances and conditions, to aid every child and youth of this race in the endeavor to reach the highest earthly position—complete American citizenship.

But this ideal of duty is, like every supreme ideal of life, only one phase of the sublime ideal, the "pattern shown in the mount," the Saviour's demand to every child of man, "be perfect as God the Father is perfect." We are here to-night because our beloved country, in this as in many other ways, is so far below what we are accustomed to call the simple demands of the Christian religion. The great

English critic and moralist, De Quincy, says, "People say, if I could only have justice I would be satisfied; as if it had not been the effort of the best portion of the entire race for four thousand years to secure absolute justice for one human being." At the end of a moral conflict as old as human history; to secure justice from the more to the less powerful races of mankind, we have met in the capital city of the world's chief republic to debate the question: How shall sixty millions of the American people, either as Christian believers or American citizens, deal justly with the twenty millions of people at home and on the opposite slope of the world, now separated from them by the most obstinate of all human obstacles; dissimilarity of race?

I claim here no superior qualifications for answering this hard question you have put to me to-night. For it is neither a local nor an American problem, but of world-wide, historical significance. In assuming to deal with it at all we resemble a regiment of army engineers detailed to report upon and stay the ravages of a spring overflow of the Father of Waters in the Mississippi Valley; a submerged realm a hundred miles wide and five hundred miles in length, with a mighty river sweeping like a fate through the center, and a whole population afloat upon its turbid waters. Each of us from his own little hummock or bluff outlook can report his own conclusions, at most a limited observation from his own point of vision; like the patriarch of old, peering through an attic window of the ark while waiting for the subsiding deluge, ready to welcome the dove with the olive branch, or the rainbow, bright pledge of "peace on earth to men of good will."

But it will be well if, in our discussions here, we can avoid three of the "blunders worse than crimes" which, from the beginning, have marred and muddled so much of the effort to reform the evils of mankind. First, the blunder of what Napoleon used to call "a bewitched conscience;" in which "the divine spark that men call con-

science," the call of God to a life-long consecration to truth and love in the whole being, becomes an overmastering obsession of semi-lunacy; like the old man of the sea astride the shoulders, blinding the vision, and strangling the whole man in any sane effort to do good.

Second, the blunder of the academic reformer, who in the isolation of his conceit of infallibility bombards the republic from a summit of moral sublimity inaccessibe to man, save in his own imagination.

Third, the blunder of the born revolutionist, who flies at everybody who refuses to see and act like himself with the challenge, "Be my brother or I'll cut your throat."

Just now the air is full of violent declamation on what is called "The Race Problem," aggravated by the supposed necessities of an impending presidential election. A certain distinguished counsel for a prisoner at the bar, in a famous capital crime, at the close of the opening plea of the prosecuting attorney, flung at the jury with all the momentum of professional denunciation and pathos, began his reply: "May it please the Court and gentlemen of the jury, let us continue these services by hearing the evidence." As the result of more than twenty years living among the people of the South, of both races and all classes, I can only attempt in my answer to your question; first, to set forth what seems to me the present situation of the ten millions of our colored fellow-citizens. Secondly, to give my own best conclusion concerning the duty of the sixty millions of white citizens to this people; and, third, to suggest some practicable ways of persuading others than ourselves to this duty in the premises.

First, what is the actual condition of this portion of our people, ten millions strong, one-seventh the entire population of the United States of America, forty years after the abolition of chattel slavery by the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, under the war power, confirmed by the amendments of the Constitution of the United States?

The bottom fact in the history of every people that has obtained a foothold on this earth is that, issuing from an unhistorical era of barbarism, it has been lifted by contact with one or more peoples, farther along, through successive stages of conflict to its final place in the enduring recognition of mankind. We all may know the history of every European people, including our own, during the past one thousand years. Through a death and life conflict with the three furies of the prayer-book, "sword, pestilence and famine," each of these has finally emerged on the table-land of civilization it occupies today. Each and all of these peoples have been aided, and all in unnamable ways have been tormented by one or more of the peoples superior in power; which not unfrequently have afterwards become an agent under Providence of its final uplift. So far, no athlete from any American university club has solved the problem of lifting himself off his feet by working his shoulders in his own suspenders. And no people has yet succeeded in solving the socialistic problem of the self-evolution of a race like the African, from the time almost three hundred years ago, when it first appeared on the deck of that Dutch vessel "built in the eclipse and rigged with curses dark," until the present year.

It is no defense of Negro slavery as a missionary institution; although it was really first established in the West Indies as such; to declare that, on the whole, no people in history has crossed the bridge from life in a dark continent to the beginnings of civilization as speedily and as safely as the people of this race in the United States. This people, as chattel slaves, suffered no more in its deprivation of freedom than the ancestors of their American masters. They were saved from the three curses, "war, pestilence and famine." Their life was in the open country, in contact with and under the protection of its superior families; among a people whose ideals of religion, government, and general civilization have won the praise

of history. Its own superior class had an opportunity of promotion especially to household duties, largely among women, where they saw much of the best side of life. And from this union there often sprang up a condition of personal affection with those among whom they lived, especially with the children and women of the white families, which has formed the most attractive theme of the new school of romance literature in the South since the war. So strong was this sentiment that the conduct of the colored people of all classes during the Civil War has been the admiration of the world, and nowhere more appreciated than among the descendents of the original owners of slaves.

In two hundred and fifty years this people had lived through its time of preparation, from which it was delivered by the American people at a sacrifice of life, property and national peril not yet fully recognized at home or abroad. In 1865, the five millions and more of freedmen, in more than one respect, were a different people from those their ancestors had left behind in Africa.

They had learned, first, to work; second, to obtain the language; and third, to adopt the religion of the nation which was becoming the world's chief republic—the three fundamental conditions of civilized life. And as the result of these well nigh three hundred years of enslavement, with their final providential emancipation, this people in 1865 had enlisted the sympathy of the most distinguished class in all Christian nations as no other five millions of people at that day.

Then came the "forty years in the wilderness;" a test such as never before was given to any people under similar circumstances. By the act of the National Government, this people was suddenly shot up to the highest opportunity of mankind, complete suffrage in the American republic. I sat in the galleries of the British Parliament in 1867 listening to the debates of the greatest public men of that empire on Lord Beaconfield's proposal to extend the right

of suffrage to a few additional classes of native Englishmen which, for more than five hundred years, had been the subjects of the British Empire. At home, our American Congress was then engaged in giving the highest earthly distinction to its new freedmen, not one in a hundred of whom could read; not so competent to use the ballot as a similar number of ordinary American twelve-year-old school boys.

But it may be said of the results of this hazardous experiment; the worst has not been felt by the Negro. Nowhere has it wrought "its perfect work" so completely as among the white race, not only of the Southern but of the Northern States. The most terrible temptation to any superior class in our civilization is the close contact with and the political direction of a multitude of incompetent and credulous people, armed with the ballot. Somebody has said of Dickens: "no man could persistently write to such a multitude as he without becoming demoralized, if not degraded in hisliterary ideals." In like manner it was not remarkable that with a million new voters of this description, let loose forty years ago upon the arena of American politics, every party and every class of men in responsible position, dealing with them, must inevitably have become accustomed to dangerous political intrigue and corruption; a condition so lamentable that the statesmen of the South today are defending their present action, as a positive political and moral reform on what has happened before.

But out of this tempest of politics there emerged during this period the one saving clause of the situation; the establishment of the people's common school for all classes of the South; the one agency by which at last this great problem is to be solved to the satifaction of all reasonable men. And here the Southern people has done a work never before attempted under similar circumstances. It has put on the ground a system of public schooling, supported and administered at the expense of $615,000,000; $109,-

000,000 for the freedmen, during the past thirty years. This work has been so thoroughly done that it has now become one of the established features of southern society. In connection with this, the North and the nation have cooperated by costly and persistent gifts for the higher, secondary, professional and industrial training of the Negro. Never has so much been done by any people in so short a time for any class, even of its own race, as during the past years under anything like similar circumstances.

And through all this has been demonstrated a quality of this people that has attracted the attention of the civilized world: *its native capacity for a Christian civilization.* Call this faculty "the habit of imitation," or what you will. It is the one native endowment without which all efforts to civilize and Christianize any primitive people go for nothing. The musicians say that three-fourths the battle in training any pupil to be a singer is a good natural voice. More than three-fourths the battle in training any people for a Christian civilization is its natural aptitude, not only for putting on the external manners, habits, virtues and vices of a superior class, but for developing the soul of good manners, as defined by Dr. Johnson: "Politeness is religion in little things."

Whatever may be truly said of the demoralization of the Negro under certain conditions, in special localities, especially in the development of a vagrant and criminal class, which was an impossibility during the great police system of chattel slavery, one fact must be acknowledged, and its acknowledgment is the test of the capacity of any person to treat worthily this great theme. The fact is that history has no record of any people in any age, which in three hundred years has made such a remarkable advance from an unhistorical barbarism to a Christian civilization, as the people this convention calls "our colored fellow-citizens."

After forty years of such freedom as has been possible for this people, it now appears before the world, "a nation

within a nation," at the beginning of a new century, ten millions strong. It has made such good use of its imperfect facilities for schooling as to lift forty-five per cent. of its entire population, from ten years of age upward, above the slough of absolute and practical illiteracy, which still holds from ten to fifteen per cent. of the entire white population of our sixteen Southern States. In 1890 there were 1,530,000 negro children and youth educated in common schools; 45,000 students in higher schools. There are now 30,000 of these people engaged in the occupation of teaching their own children and youth. In thirty years these people have gotten together a sum of nearly $500,000,000 in property. Every denomination of the Christian religion is now represented by these ten millions, and, in proportion to their means, no class of the American people is probably more constant in its church attendance or gives more of its substance for the support of religion. The labor of this people has done its full share in the new prosperity of the entire South, and is fairly represented in the growing class of intelligent, even skilled and expert workers, in the country. Indeed, whatever may be asserted to the contrary, the colored race has now become such a vital portion of the labor force of the sixteen States that any serious attempt to verify the romancing of some of our Southern writers concerning the separation or expatriation of the race would awaken a revolution among the reliable industrial class that would be felt from Howard County, Maryland, to the remotest cattle-ranch on the border of far-away Texas. For the best statement of what the race has accomplished in the past thirty years in the way of general elevation, I refer my hearers to the treatise, "The Education of the Negro," published in the report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1900, by Professor Kelly Miller; a treatise which, as far as I have noticed, nobody has attempted to answer, because it is unanswerable.

And now, most significant of all, as the result of the

experience of freedom for the past forty years, these ten millions of our American fellow-citizens has developed a superior class of its own. Without a recognized superior class, trained into a habit of "working together for good" no people ever became anything but a social militia; like the multitudes of Asia before the impact of the Macedonian ten thousand, an irresistible phalanx that under Alexander marched from Athens to the borders of India. This is the supreme fact to which I would direct the attention of this convention; the full recognition of the existence, the rapid growth, and the undeniable merits of this superior class; its obligations and opportunities, not only for the leadership of the ten millions at home, but at least indirectly, of twenty millions of people now under the American flag; through the coming half century needing all that can be done for it in every department of human life.

The most remarkable feature in this entire discussion is that so many of our writers and speakers, South and North, seem hardly yet to be aware of the existence of such a class; or if aware of it, recognize it only by a half denial of its influence, a general disparagement, or "a damning with faint praise." In the two most notable addresses before great ecclesiastical bodies within the past month, representing the Evangelical Protestant Churches of the country, the speakers allude to this fact as of practically no consequence, speaking of the superior class of these ten millions as "few and far between." It seems to be almost incredible that so many of the well-to-do and well-intentioned white people in a city like Washington should be as profoundly ignorant of this body of educated, prosperous, often accomplished and morally excellent people in their midst as of social conditions existing in a foreign land. But so it is.

Yet it is not so strange, after all. The one thing hardest of all for the parent is to really believe in the growing capacity of his children for mature life, or the teacher in the progress of his pupil to reliable scholarship. And especially

hard is it for a people who, for generations, have held another in a state of chattel slavery, to believe in its capacity to be anything more than in its servile state. It is not especially singular that a large number of white people of the class which now politically governs every Southern State: neither themselves nor their ancestors ever masters of a slave: should sincerely believe these ten millions of people only fit for the condition of a European peasantry of three hundred years ago. And even the North, not excepting the class and the party that forty years ago went through a terrible civil war to "give freedom to all," and has mightily wrought in more than one way for the uplift of this people towards American civilization, somehow finds it difficult to realize "that this little one has become a thousand," and that whoever would be of real service to this people must recognize, cooperate and "work together for good" with its superior class.

Indeed, in this respect there is perhaps a more practical recognition of this fact in the South than elsewhere. We shall make a foolish mistake if we permit ourselves to be misled by the loud assertion of a group of sociological romancers and political aspirants in the North and South who are now filling the press with their declaration on the inevitable and immutable determination of the sixty millions of our white American citizens never, never to be dominated, miscegenated, kept out of office, and generally side-tracked by our ten millions of colored people, only forty years out of chattel slavery, and declared by themselves to be not only unfit for any of the higher responsibilities of public life, but even unworthy of the common courtesies of civilized society. The summit joke of a period prolific in fakes and fads, is the recent attempt of a distinguished Senator of the United States and possible candidate for the presidency of the republic to convince the intelligent people of a great American commonwealth that when the reckless young man now engaged in riding his stable of

hobby-horses up and down stairs in the reconstructed White House invited a man who, in forty years has risen from a one-room negro cabin to a position acknowledged in every section of our country, and by every Christian people, to eat bread and drink—probably Apollinaris—he demoralized the colored and imperiled the social sanctity of the immaculate white American race. But "the silent South" of today and the "solid South" of twenty-five years hence has little time to take this sort of demonstration seriously.

During the twenty and more years of my own "ministry of education" through every Southern State and a majority of the larger towns and cities of them all, I never visited a community, always at the invitation of its educational and public authorities, that I did not find the leading people on whom the place depended for the direction of its educational and superior life in intimate accord with a corresponding class of colored folk, consulting with them, attending their public occasions, and generally coöperating with them in this and other concerns on which the higher welfare of the community depended. If the majority of the better sort of people in South Carolina were such in this respect as their senior Senator proclaims himself to be, the old commonwealth would be uninhabitable. None of the dire forebodings of the young men that orate on this "National peril" up in the Capitol are to be realized. Rhetoric is cheap; but the people who "mean business" down South are not lying awake o'nights to guard the purity or the domination of the white, no longer the Anglo-Saxon, but the composite American race.

A great misfortune, North and South, is a chronic social habit of turning the back on the better class of the colored folk. As long as the colored man or woman is in a menial position, just now largely filled by the lower strata of the race, he and especially she is admitted to the closest personal familiarity, has the care of the children, the charge of the household, accompanies her mistress in the Pull-

man car and in the bed chamber; all follies and frailties revealed as in the glare of midday. But as soon as a pair of these young men and women unite in honest marriage, and become a prosperous, intelligent, reliable family, the act that in any Christian nation is supposed to command general respect and inspire social confidence, the social boycott comes in and the very existence of a superior class is denied, ridiculed, and often traduced. The unanswerable argument against this estimate of any race is that it reverses and upsets the fundamental law of Christian society; which is that personal merit should always be recognized by a superior in a less favored class.

It is indifferent whether the number of people included in this superior class of the ten millions is one hundred thousand or five hundred thousand or ten thousand. The class exists. It is recognized in every community where the race is found in sufficient number. Its different circles everywhere recognize each other. Its best people are known to one another all over the country and not unfrequently are known and esteemed in foreign lands. Its intelligence, good scholarship, literary merit and frequent culture are known to all educators. Its accomplishment in "gentle manners" is recognized by every man or woman competent to know a lady or gentleman at sight. Its peaceful and respectful habits of life are "known to all men."

Thirty years ago it had several representatives in the Congress of the United States: but I do not remember that one of these gentlemen ever beat a brother Senator near to death in the Senate chamber, or flew at the throat of his rival in debate, like a mad man, on the floor of Congress; or even challenged his opponent to fight a duel. This class of Southern people, up to date, clearly does not seem to be under the fatal obsession of a "hereditary habit," running back to Adam's bad boy, to shoot a fellow citizen at sight, or murder from ambush, or hang by the neck, riddle with bullets, burn and inflict unnamable tortures on real or even

suspected criminals in open day. Certainly, in the consumption of "fire water" this class is not yet a successful rival of the thirsty white man. In morals; especially in the weakness most noted in any primitive race; anybody informed of the manners and customs of the different European peoples at a corresponding period of their development will not be discouraged at what now exists among the masses of the less informed and civilized of these ten millions. For man, including woman, at the best, is originally a mighty animal; and the emergence of any people from its animal state is well figured in Milton's description of the birth of the lion at the creation:

> "Now half appeared
> The tawny lion, pawing to get free his hinder parts;
> Then springs, as broke from bonds,
> And rampant shakes his brinded mane."

Surely the "upper-ten" of these people in any American city may safely challenge comparison in social and political morality with the far-famed four hundred that today claims direction of "the first society" of the greater New York.

But, for better or worse, this superior class of the ten millions we have with us. Of course, it has its own defects, its own social follies, its unhappy scholastic jealousies, its aspirations and longings, and its greed for the good things of this life. And, most unfortunate of all, it has also too much a habit of indifference towards the needs of its multitudes of the poor and lowly to whom the Lord came to preach the gospel of self-help. Like so many of any superior set, it too often forgets the Master's mandate; "Let him who is greatest among you be your servant, even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many." But the class at heart is sound, is every year getting closer together, and is waking up to its great opportunity and obligation in this, the opening of the twentieth century of the years of our Lord.

And, indeed, where on earth is there a superior class that today is called by God to a grander mission than this? Is there any record in history of any number of people, so small, like "a city set on a hill that cannot be hid," called to be "a light of the world," as this foremost class of twenty millions of people in training for American citizenship? For whatever may be our opinion concerning the way by which these other ten millions beyond the sea were brought to us, or whatever may be in the mind of Providence concerning their future position as a people, its present generation is with us for education towards the American order of Christian civilization. The educator does not create conditions. He takes people as he finds them, and tries to lift them towards the light; up to a higher plane in their approach to the highest achievement of mankind. The superior class of which I speak, here and elsewhere, is the providential leader of this constituency, at least of ten millions of people, towards its destined goal. Is there any nobler destiny than this—to be the fathers and mothers of a race, just emerging from the shadow side and now well over the borderline of civilization? For this race enjoys the same opportunity as my son, born forty years later than his father; in his case, born into a world as different from that of my own childhood as a new heaven and a new earth. In God's "fullness of time" has come this great deliverance to the ten millions of our colored fellow citizens; when the world is at last coming to recognize the Lord's way in building up a kingdom on earth, a reflection of God's Kingdom in heaven.

Thus far have we come in our consideration of the present condition of what is called "the race problem." (1) The developement of every race in its childhood depends largely on its impact with other and more favored peoples. In the present case the colored African of three hundred years ago has been mightily assisted at every step of his advancement towards his present condition as

the colored American citizen. The institution of slavery in its way was a great elevator of the race. (2) Emancipation, which came at the time not only when the institution of slavery could not longer exist without peril to the republic, but when the five millions and more of these people were probably as well prepared for it as was possible under the circumstances. (3) The colored race has been immensely favored by Providence in regaining its freedom at this late period in the civilization of Christendom, being the first people in history to be placed at once under the influence in its own section of the elementary and by the North and the nation of the secondary higher, professional, and expert industrial seminaries of learning. (4) With the inevitable exceptions, failures, and reactions attendant upon the development of any race from a similar condition in so short a period, the American colored citizen can say at the beginning of a new century "All this is fixed. The past is secure." There is no going back on this natural method of development; no more slavery, no peonage, no reaction in any large degree in education. Here is a work done by the white race in this country such as never was done to any people, so circumstanced since the world began. The final result is the development of a superior class of these ten millions, which is competent, if faithful to its great mission, to lead these masses, with such co-operation as it may reasonably demand from the entire American people.

It will be a great mistake, however, if our white race, Anglo-Saxon more largely in the South, or composite, as it is, in the North, endeavors to perpetuate this original, parental or patriarchal relation to this people. This is the most difficult of all situations; even as in Europe it is now found in nations like Russia, Italy and other less favored countries. But when complicated by distinction of race, the work of recognition will be the last achievement of Christianity. The kingdom of God will have dawned

on earth when even the so-called Christian peoples accept in good faith and determine to realize the saying of the apostle: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth."

We are hearing a good deal now-a-days of the familiar talk that ushered in the great rebellion of 1861. "Let the South alone. The South knows the Negro completely and is thoroughly competent to solve the problem in its own way."

But, in the first place, it is not possible that one people which, for two hundred and fifty years, has held another in such a condition as the master class of this section held the entire body of the colored folk, should be competent to deal with the much more difficult problem of its training for full American citizenship. Still there is a truth in the present claim of the Southern people, that as they have been the great sufferers from the sudden destruction of their entire order of society and the subsequent experiment of suffrage unlimited by any test of capacity, and are, beyond question, to live permanently with the increasing numbers of the race, they have in some respects superior qualifications for dealing, at first hand, with the situation as it develops from year to year. There can be no question that there is no part of our country today where the masses of the colored people have so good an opportunity for their own development in self-supporting work, in family life, in simple living and growth in all the fundamental qualities of good citizenship, as in these States. It is not from the desire to crowd the race down to a menial position that the State of Virginia, since 1875, has aided in the support of Hampton Institute, and that the whole South, through its superior class, stands behind Mr. Booker T. Washington in his great work at Tuskegee. It is from the conviction that the Southern States must, for many years yet, rely on these ten millions as its chief laboring class, and that there is an imperative necessity that the whole laboring class, colored

and white, shall be lifted out of the old slave habit of work into a laboring population, first intelligent; second, of more reliable character; third, into the habit of the economical and fit use of money.

But, on the other hand, no people like the five millons of freedmen of forty years ago can be well understood in its higher aspirations by a people just recovering from a terrible civil war brought on by a controversy respecting chattel slavery. The South does know the Negro in the virtues and vices of slave life, in the childhood of his race. But to the North, the nation, and Christendom alone has been revealed the aspirations, the hopes, the longings, and the native capacities of this people.

The South is in no condition at present to justly deal with the question of suffrage. While it can easily enough take away unlimited suffrage from the colored voter, and even possibly in some quarters attempt to deprive the entire race of political rights, it cannot do the same by that portion of its own white population which is still in the bonds of illiteracy, including those who cannot and those who do not read. This portion of the southern people represents an ancestry that, for the past two hundred and fifty years, has distinguished itself in the almost perpetual state of war through which the South and the South-West has come to its present estate. This man from whom it is proposed to take his vote will tell you that his great-grandfather fought at King's Mountain; another member of the family followed Jackson to New Orleans; half a dozen of his relatives were killed, or helped to kill, the "noble savage." Others tramped with Scott to Mexico; he left a leg at Gettysburg and his boys ran away from home to fight under the old flag in Cuba and in the Philippines, one of them, now an invalid, supported by him. He has voted all his life as instructed by the eloquence and relying upon the advice of the illustrious group of Southern statesmen during the past fifty years.

You cannot make him understand why he should be deprived of his vote, at this time; neither can you reasonably expect that the present voting constituency of the South, composed so largely of the old non-slave-holding class, can be persuaded to anything of this sort.

The sixteen States of the South have before them, for the coming generation, a work sufficient to task their entire capacity as a political, industrial, and Christian people. That is, through the help and sympathy of the whole nation, especially to plant through the open country, where seven-tenths of its people live, a system of common-school education, competent to not only abolish the present illiteracy, but, with the help of the church and under the leadership of the noble young men and women that are now at work, to lift this entire body out of its present provincialism and dependence on political, sectional and un-American notions into line with the progress of national affairs. Of course, along with this must go the training of the Negro; but in no such way as a good deal that now comes from that quarter suggests concerning his present condition, and certainly in no way that will keep him forever a subject race; reviving in this republic the tragedy of peasant life in the Old World.

Still less is the North at present in a condition to claim the absolute leadership in the development of these ten millions of its fellow citizens. For the North has no longer the claim of superiority which, to a certain extent, the South may still put forth, that it is an Anglo-Saxon people. More than three quarters of a century ago the first city judge in the new city of Cincinnati, Ohio, used to say when charging the jury, "Gentlemen of the jury, we should be extremely lenient in our decision of cases that come before this court; for you know that we are a new country and a very "hotorogonus" people. That ancient member of the bar and the bench was a prophet; for even New England today is no longer English. Nearly three-fourths of the

people in the city of New York are of European origin, and it is the boast of a school of our sociologists that here, in the world's new republic, we are developing a race from the stronger and finer elements of all in the Old World, destined to distinguished superiority, especially in the working of republican institutions.

Therefore the question arises, at once, if the North proposes to lead and deal exclusively with these ten millions of the colored race at home and the other ten millions abroad, which portion of this Northern people is to be the leader? Is it the Irish; is it the German; is it the Italian; is it the Hebrew? Is it the "greater New York," that just now has given the "Tiger" a two years' additional lease of life? Is it the great multitude now drifting across the Atlantic, at once to be organized into labor unions, whose more ambitious leaders seem to look to the time when they, as the representatives of organized labor, shall decide who shall and who shall not "earn his bread by the sweat of his brow," even challenging the Government of the United States to submit to its local rules and regulations, and, by common consent, declaring that no Negro "need apply"?

But you may say it is not the political, but the religious North; it is the Church that is to lead in this great movement. No instructed man can deny the great and blessed work of the last forty years done by our different churches in the South for the elevation of the colored race. But it must be remembered that the three great Protestant churches most interested in this work have not yet made up their minds to unite with the churches of the same name in the South, much less to unite with each other in one representative body to do what the Catholic, the Episcopal, and Congregational communions would, were they not barred by the inevitable and obstinate sectarianism of the Negro race. Beside, these people, of themselves, have organized several large bodies of Christian believers, built

great numbers of churches, have a ministry that is constantly improving, and probably, according to their own means, are paying more for the support of religion, certainly attending on the services of the Church to a greater extent, than any portion of the white race in the Union.

I do not here attempt to discuss the question; what can the white people of the North accomplish for their colored fellow-citizens in the South through the agencies of National politics, as political affairs are today organized in all portions of the Union. In this wide weltering sea of possibilities, I think we may assume that the American people, that is, "the weight of the meeting," has decided: (1) That this question shall never again involve the republic in a civil war. I believe also that there is (2), underlying all the surface indications of public affairs in our Northern States, a determination henceforth to grant suffrage only by such limitations as, after farther experimenting, may be found effective. This method, as now in New England, will ultimately apply to the native white and the vast body of incompetent immigrants who are thronging our shores, as certainly as to the fifty per cent. of the colored race who, during the past thirty years, have enjoyed this opportunity; and (3), I believe that the States which fought through the great war for the preservation of the Union, placed three million boys in blue behind the emancipation proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, and welcomed from the South a larger Union army of both races than Washington ever commanded, will never leave their colored citizens on this or any continent to be exploited, either in the interest of a godless commerce or a pagan ideal of society.

How this is to be done and when it is to come, I have no definite opinion; and I doubt if any statesmen can predict more certainly than any of us were able to realize, when we cast our vote for Abraham Lincoln in 1860, what was to come of it all at the end of five tremendous years. But of this I am convinced, that nothing is to be gained for these

ten millions by any violent impeachment of the good faith, permanent friendship or abiding sense of justice of the working majority of the American people. So far, the colored race has traveled farther in three hundred years than any people; at every point, by the aid and comfort of the friendly portion of the white people of the country, working, perhaps not always wisely, but working until the present auspicious hour. I take no stock in pessimism anywhere. Pessimism is symptomatic insanity, whether it regards the human race as a whole, or any portion of it on the way to its final destiny in this world. I do not now regard the condition of these ten millions as in any respect more to be deprecated than at any previous time in the history of the country. And I believe also, that a great deal that is now being done unwisely and unjustly in regard to our colored fellow-citizens, like every similar movement, is to be overruled by that Providence which has not been abolished by "the higher Biblical criticism," but was never so alive as today.

But I am more impressed, every year, with the fact that we shall never get on as we might in this great national experiment of doing justly by all men until we do with the superior class of this people what we are compelled in the North to do with the corresponding class of every European race and people that has come to us. We must place ourselves cheerfully, honestly, without assumption of superiority, and especially with no conscious—and, as far as possible, no unconscious—attitude of patronage in correspondence and connection with this superior class of the ten millions of colored American citizens, and, in every way that may suggest and commend itself to the wisdom of the wise, make a just and firm endeavor to rise or fall, get on, or stand on the defensive, together.

It would be an interesting matter, would time and space permit, to discuss the three most prominent phases of this question in their connection with the main topic of my

discourse. But I note that all these are set for the consideration of this convention, and will doubtless be treated with such wisdom, discernment and expert knowledge as may be at hand. These three questions are, (1) the proper education for the four millions of colored children and youth; (2) the political condition of the masses of the colored people at the present time, and (3) the efforts at the social recognition of this and all similar classes in the Republic.

I therefore hasten to the proper conclusion of my present theme in saying that this superior class, which every year is becoming a more decided factor in everything connected with this great American problem, must, like every other body of people at work in the higher region of American life, depend very largely upon the influence, the spirit and the work of the women who today constitute perhaps its more hopeful, certainly in many ways its more cultivated element. This is the woman's and the children's century; and, as far as anything can be predicted in human affairs, more is to be accomplished during the coming fifty years in behalf of woman than in any half dozen previous centuries in the history of mankind. It is in no spirit of distrust of our new American manhood of either race that I look to the superior women of this class for aid and comfort in this the most radical and vital advance on the blindness and unrighteousness of the past.

The time has already come when many of our colored girls are receiving a superior cultivation, both in letters and in the training in the Christian womanhood that opens the door of opportunity and makes for the refinement and sanctity of society, to a greater degree than their companions of the other sex. I never look upon the "commencement week" of the public schools of this city that the question does not force itself upon me: How can all this new wealth of young Negro womanhood be utilized and taken possession of for the uplift of the millions of this people through all the dark places of the land? Here is an opportunity to plant our

educated young colored women from the Nation's capital in every neighborhood, from Washington to Texas, for a work larger than any missionary enterprise hitherto conceived. If the women of the white race will not receive the representatives of your Northern clubs of colored women, why not respond by sending down to their neighborhood a group of our normal and high-school colored graduates, who will do what so many women of the white race have already been doing in that portion of the country—change a whole neighborhood from a "hell town" to a community that the polite mayor of the city will show to his distinguished visitors from abroad as a specimen of "what the South is doing for its colored folk"?

I wonder if some one of your more enterprising journals could not prepare a "society column" after a new type, in which, instead of the wearying record of the social doings of the army of "budding" maids and their new clothes, all the way from down East to Alaska, we could be told what some of your young women are reading in their clubs; how a group of your school boys and girls have taken in hand a dismal, run-down city neighborhood, trying to persuade its people to brighten up and take a new departure for civilization; how a newly-married couple last evening invited their friends to their new home, established, as it used to be the fashion in Boston, by Amos Lawrence and Nathan Appelton and the people that made that city, in a few rooms over their place of business, showing how this has been furnished largely by their own work in the manual trade schools, and how they are living in a way that was originally the model for the best people that helped to make the Republic; and how one of your young girls appeared at the President's reception and informed the gracious woman at the White House that on seventy-five dollars a year she was able to dress in "her present position." How long would it be, if this society column was a fair statement of what is really going on among num-

bers of your young people, before it would attract the attention of the metropolitan journals of the land, and every good girl and worthy young man noted in it would find herself or himself brought in connection with a few friends of the other race, whose interest, appreciation and support would demonstrate the fact that good society is the society of the wise and good?

Of old it was said, "the stone that the builders rejected has become the head of the corner." Eighteen centuries ago all the great oriental peoples "had no use" for the Man of Nazareth; did not even know that, off among the hills of obscure Palestine, was being enacted the drama of the centuries. But, eighteen centuries later, the governments of China and Japan, the two leading nations of the Orient, were sending their boys and girls, chosen by competitive examination, to New England and New York, to live in the homes of their pious wives and "glorious maiden aunts," attending the people's common school and the colleges, as a preparation for service in the State, many of them now occupying places of authority in those countries. The great school of Governor Armstrong, at Hampton, has long since become the model for every normal and industrial college for the race now supported by every Southern State. Even the most characteristic and original educational movement of these States, the State Normal and Industrial College for White Girls, is simply Hampton, writ large in white. And in this same educational experiment has been developed the only possible mode of educating the masses in our colonial possessions, after the way of the people's common school, into as much of the American republican ideal of nationality as is possible to be accomplished. The superior women of these ten millions have before them an opportunity to give to the republic a type of womanhood that will be a new departure in American society. At least, could not this class of women do more than now to check the lamentable habit of spending time and money among their young

girls in imitation of the shoddy and superficial "smart set" of society that is the standard despair of our national ideal of Christian womanhood?

And now am I told, "all this is simply an optimistic dream, a parson's scheme, impossible of realization"? Well, at a time when there is such a torrent of pessimistic and discouraging talking and writing on this matter, may it not be well to come forth with the suggestion of another, broader, higher, more hopeful, more exalted possibillty? "Where there is no vision the people perish." Eighteen centuries ago, the divine teacher and Saviour of mankind said to a group, probably as mixed a multitude as could be gathered in any American assembly today, lying, sitting and standing around Him on the hill of Gallilee: "Be ye perfect, even as your father in heaven is perfect." The great apostle and statesman of the early church responded, amid the darkness and diabolism of imperial Rome, "Now abide faith, hope, love; these three, but the greatest of these is love." The Master died on the traitor's cross, and the disciple perished on the felon's block. But their words abide, and are today the inspiration of every follower of the Master and His chief apostle who "goes forth into all the world to preach the Gospel to every creature."

A hundred years ago Thomas Jefferson presented to the foremost colony, just about to become the leading State of the new American Republic, his plan of education, including the emancipation of the slaves and the schooling of "all sorts and conditions of people." He "died without the sight." But in his old age Jefferson fell into correspondence with his life-long political enemy, John Adams of Massachusetts. In a letter received at Monticello, the venerable Ex-President at Quincy told the story, how he sat by his chamber window and enjoyed the sight of the children in the people's common school of the village; and how the boy, whose father sawed his wood, had just

taken a school prize above his own son, who was afterward a President of the United States. And when the sage of Monticello read those words he once more lifted up his head, bowed down by the infirmities of the body and the coming disaster to his personal fortunes, and wrote: "Let us educate the children. Then the coming generation will be wiser than we, and many things impossible to us will be easy to them. You and I will rejoice together in heaven over the glorious day when all the children are at school."

So, dear friends, may we—probably some of you, in your own day, though certainly not myself, in my day—share in the sublime fruition of the mighty hope of the future for the new Republic. It may not be given to you or me to know what will be the outcome of anything we may be enabled to say or do on the Lord's side of any question before the American people. But we do know that in the treasury of the eternities are stored up a million tomorrows after a million of todays. Believing in this, we may at least put our heads and hearts in our hands, and together put "our hand to the plow and turn not back." Then, like the father of the new republic, Abraham Lincoln, at the close of his mighty proclamation of freedom, we may say: "This we commend to the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

Chapter V.

Session of Tuesday, November 10.

Conference was called to order by Prof. Jesse Lawson, and prayer offered by Rev. J. A. Johnson, D. D.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

During the further introduction of members to the Conference,

Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey said:

I can only say at this moment that it gives me great pleasure to be here, and that I consider this Conference to be the most important meeting that has been held in Washington, not barring that great meeting on the Hill, because the question we have under consideration is a question upon the solution of which rests the welfare of the people in the South as well as of the whole American people. If we can see any way, it is our duty to do so. Our institutions are on trial.

Rev. W. D. Cook, of Atlantic City, N. J.:

I am sure that I am pleased to be here at a Conference of this kind. I am sure that a meeting of this kind and character must result in good, and if there is anything your humble servant can do I shall be only too glad to contribute my part. My aspirations reach higher and my hopes are brighter as we have these meetings—as we touch shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart.

Dr. Robert Reyburn:

I will only say here that I humbly coincide with the importance of this movement. It is not only important to the colored people, but to the white people of the South. The whole attitude of the South has been radically wrong, not only to the colored people, but to the whites. All these matters are just like standing on the steam boiler and keeping up the pressure. The solution of yesterday seems to me radically wrong, perfectly absurd, and perfectly impossible. If an attempt was made to carry these people to another part of the country there would be a resort to shot guns. The South does not want them to leave; why should they? How absurd to say to any man that he must go here or there. What is the solution of this question? It seems to me a very simple matter. What we want to do, and the people all over the South want to do, *is to treat one race just like the other.* Men in the North as well as in the South do not treat the Negro the same as the white man. What we want to do is to treat this question from the humanitarian standpoint. Then the question will solve itself. Apply the doctrines of Christ, and that is the only solution; education, separation is nothing. This is the root of the question, the Doctrine of Christ.

ROBERT REYBURN, A. M., M. D.,
Dean of the Medical Department, Howard University.
Member, Committee on Ways and Means, National Sociological Society.

REV. F. J. GRIMKE, D. D.:

I am very glad to have the opportunity to speak at this meeting. I am well understood in this city. I believe thoroughly in the idea that the Negro is a man and is entitled to the same treatment. I listened last evening to the very masterly address delivered by Dr. Mayo, and believe with ex-Senator Blair that if this Conference does nothing else than to produce that paper that was given last night it will have accomplished much. It was a magnificent utterance. A meeting like this must revert to good. We should not lose sight of the fact that the Negro is a man. So far as the Negro is concerned he will not be satisfied with anything less than every right under this Constitution. That is the trouble, I think, with a great many people; they go on the assumption that the Negro is an inferior being. As long as this idea is entertained a solution will never be reached. I do not see how any self-respecting Negro can take any other position. I remember once speaking with a distinguished Southern man from South Carolina. I talked with him about an hour setting forth my views. He said I do not see how any self-respecting Negro can take any other position. Now let us rally to the standard; let us rally to the sentiment of that address. [Dr. Mayo's.] These are the land marks by which we must work if there is to be any successful solution of this problem.

REV. ALEXANDER KENT:

I was not at the conference yesterday, but I had the great pleasure of listening to Dr. Mayo's address last night. It seems to me this problem is a very strange one to rise in a republic. When I found in Baltimore that the Negroes were excluded from the street cars, I said to the one with whom I boarded that such an arrangement can never survive. I see you have your colored women who carry a baby come in and sit down; as long as they are servants it makes no difference. A woman can sit by her driver, but just as soon as he becomes a public citizen it is different. Such a thing must go, and it is amusing that such things have existed.

HON. GEORGE C. GORHAM:

The one word I would like to say after expressing my full concurrence with what has just been said. The thing I would urge upon you is that upon the fourth of January you have some one who is capable, and who has your interests at heart, to stand in defence of them.

Then followed the reading of a number of letters from those who responded to the invitation to become members.

MADISON, WIS., *November 3, 1903.*

JESSE LAWSON, ESQ.,

2011 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir: I have your favor of the 26th ult., inviting me to conference on race problem, in Washington, November 9, 10 and 11. The subject is one of great interest, and I would like to attend, but I am not sure

that I shall be able to do so. If I did, I should not care to speak. I may feel it my duty to say something on the subject during the session.

I am much obliged for the invitation.

Yours very truly, JOHN C. SPOONER.

DUBUQUE, IOWA, *October 15, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

Howard Universty, Washington, D. C.:

My Dear Sir: I have your circular letter inviting me to attend a conference of the National Sociological Society, to be held in Washington, November 9–11. I regret to say that at the time indicated I will probably be so occupied that it will be impossible for me to be present.

Thanking you for the invitation, I am,

Yours truly, W. B. ALLISON.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, MADISON, WIS., *October 15, 1903.*

MR. KELLY MILLER,

Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of the invitation of the National Sociological Society to attend the Washington conference upon the race problem November 9th to 11th.

I appreciate your consideration and regret that prior engagements will make it impossible for me to accept.

Hoping you may be successful in your efforts to secure a good and representative attendance, I am

Very truly yours, ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, COMMISSIONERS OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 5, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

Howard University, City.

Dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your circular letter inviting me to attend a conference, to be held in this city November 9–11, to deliberate on the most serious phases of the race question and to formulate plans for the relief of a strained situation.

I hope to be able to be present at one of the conferences at least, although my time is now fully occupied with work.

Very truly yours, HENRY L. WEST.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS., *October 16, 1903.*

MR. KELLY MILLER, Corresponding Secretary, &c.

Dear Sir: It is with sincere regret that I have to decline the honor offered me, to take part in your "Washington Conference" on the race problem in the United States. I believe such conferences—such discussions of the matter—are an imperative necessity in the true and faithful settlement of this sore problem. Only the compulsion of binding prior

engagements prevents me accepting your invitation. I wish you the largest success. Yours truly, G. W. CABLE.

FREDRICK L. MCGHEE, ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
32 and 33 Union Block, 4th and Cedar Streets,
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, *November 7, 1903.*

TO THE PRESIDENT, OFFICERS AND MEMBERS
OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

Sir and Gentlemen: I have to express to you my very deep regret at being absent from your meeting. I regard it as one of the most important the race has had. The need for giving my consideration to those questions that affect our race was never more pressing than now. When one considers present conditions, as compared with those that obtained ten or twelve years ago, he can but wonder at the changed status. Despite the fact that it is generally admitted that the race has made steady progress along all lines, never was there such activity, so many influences put into play to prevent our being accorded the consideration to which our merit entitles us, than now. The spirit of caste is becoming more and more keen to all the people of all sections of our own country. Serpent like, it coils around our every effort to uplift with deep determination to throttle them. It lies coiled at every turn of life's winding road, ready to spring upon and fasten its poisonous fangs into the youths of the land that come fresh from environments and influences that teach and give equality to citizenship.

Such conditions should tend to bring together, in a close bond, those of the race who occupy the position of leaders, advisers or teachers; but instead of there being unity there is division and there are factions. It is, therefore, much to be hoped that the conference will bring about an agreement upon which all can unite, and heartily labor for our common good, thus putting an end to attacks and denunciations of any person or body of persons.

With an ardent hope for the success of the conference, confident that good will follow, I desire to be counted as one ready to do his part in furthering its purposes and ends.

Yours very sincerely,

F. L. MCGHEE.

HERBERT & MICOU, COUNSELLORS AT LAW, 1419 G ST., N. W.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 12, 1903.*

Dear Sir: I am this morning in receipt of your letter of October 1st, from the National Sociological Society, inviting me to become a member of the conference to be held in this city November 9-11, 1903, to deliberate on the most serious phases of the race question and formulate plans for the relief of the strained situation.

I am deeply interested in the situation that has been brought about by the race problem, and will rejoice if this conference shall be able to formulate remedial measures. For myself, I have not in mind any dis-

FREDRICK L. MCGHEE,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Member, Executive Committee, National Sociological Society.

tinctive proposition, and confess myself as being in great doubt as to whether your conference can or will find itself, after discussion, able to agree upon any that will be effective.

I therefore beg to decline, with thanks, the offer which you have so kindly made to me to become a member of the conference.

It might not be out of place in me to add that, in my opinion, much of the strained relations between the two races has come from intemperate discussion, and that every instinct of patriotism should prompt those who may at any time engage in the discussion of this grave question to the exercise of temperance and moderation in language and proposals.

Yours very truly, H. A. HERBERT.

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, City.

CAMDEN, N. J., *October 9, 1903.*

KELLY MILLER, ESQ.,
Secretary National Sociological Society,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 1st instant, asking me to become a member of the Conference to be held in Washington November 9th to 11th, received. I fear that I will be unable to be present upon that occasion, as my duties as a member of Congress before and just at the convening of a new Congress are such that it will require all of my time and attention.

While my sympathies and good feelings are with the movement suggested, I feel that my first duty is to my constituents.

Yours truly, H. C. LOUDENSLAGER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 19, 1903.*

PROFESSOR KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary.

Dear Sir: I feel honored by the invitation just received from you to become a member and participant in the conference called by the National Sociological Society to be held in this city November 9–11, to consider the race question, and accept the same with pleasure.

Faithfully yours, GEO. C. GORHAM.

CLEVELAND, *October 8, 1903.*

MR. JESSE LAWSON,
2011 Vermont Aveuue, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Lawson: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of October 22d, enclosing invitation to attend the conference of the National Sociological Society in November. I thank you very much for the compliment and for the invitation to speak. I am not able just at this writing to state positively whether I shall be able to attend. I expect, however, to see Mr. Miller here during the American Missionary Association meeting, by which time I shall know definitely whether I can come or not.

Cordially yours, CHAS. W. CHESNUTT.

WASHINGTON LIBERTY LEAGUE, 140 B STREET, N. E.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 11, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER.

Dear Sir: I have found your mislaid letter of the 1st, and have pleasure in accepting the invitation to become a member of the Washington Conference, on condition, of course, that I shall be held responsible for my own participation only, and not for the findings of the conference or for the opinions of any of its members.

Thanking you for remembering my name in such a connection, I am,

Yours most truly, W. A. CROFFUT.

COLORED NORMAL, INDUSTRIAL, AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
ORANGEBURG, S. C., *October 16, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER.

Dear Sir: Your letter of October 1st, relative to a proposed conference of race leaders in your city on November 9–11, is at hand.

I must say that I regret that my pressing duties just at the opening of our College here will prevent my attendance.

I most earnestly wish you every success.

Very truly, THOS. E. MILLER.

PENSACOLA, FLA., *October 13, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I regret my inability to be present at the Washington conference, November 9–11, 1903. Business obligations are such that I cannot at that time leave the State. I fully appreciate the importance of such a meeting, and much regret my inability to be present. I shall watch with interest the result of your meeting.

I think the National Sociological Society, of which you are Secretary, has a *great* and *good work* to perform, because a proper and just understanding of racial conditions as they really exist, both North and South, would add much to the settlement of the so-called race problem. The *real* condition of the Negro as it is in the South is not known, though much discussed by lecturers all over the country, because many of these lecturers have some set plan—a school, church or some charity; hence they try to play on the sympathies of their hearers. It is, however, the duty of your society to study the sociological condition of the colored people, and, after duly investigating, report the result to the people, and suggest some plan for the betterment of that condition.

Hoping the deliberations of your conference may result in lasting good to the race, rest assured I shall watch with interest the deliberations of the Washington conference.

Respectfully yours, I. L. PURCELL.

COLUMBIA, S. C., *October 22d, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary, National Sociological Society,
Washington, D. C.

My very dear Sir: In reply to your highly appreciated letter, of recent date, inviting me to become a member of the above mentioned Society, I have the honor to say that I gladly consent to do so, and shall deem it a compliment to be allowed to labor with the distinguished men whose names are indicated on your letter-head, in so worthy and useful a work as its object is shown to be by the contents of the letter.

With best wishes and cordial greetings, I beg the honor to remain,

Yours very truly,

C. C. JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 14, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Sir: A communication from the National Sociological Society, extending me an opportunity to become a member of a conference called by said Society to meet in this city November 9–11, 1903, has been received.

In reply I desire to say that I am glad of the privilege of becoming a member of said conference, the object of which, as set forth in the circular, being eminently timely and commendable.

You have my consent to enroll my name as a member of the conference, and, God willing, I will attend its sessions on the dates named above.

Very sincerely yours, W. T. MCKINNEY,
Huntington, West Va.

Present address: No. 40 Howard Avenue, Anacostia, D. C.
Internal Revenue Bureau, Treasury Department.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 21, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University.

My Dear Sir: Your communication, inviting me to become a member of the Conference of the National Sociological Society, has been received, and in response will say that I thank you very much for the invitation and shall try and avail myself of the opportunity to be present at as many of the meetings as possible.

I assure you that I am heartily in sympathy with any movement that has as its object the improvement of the condition of the Negro race and the bringing about a better relation between the races.

I do not know the requirements for membership, but I presume that I will learn at the first meeting.

Wishing you success in your efforts, I am

Yours very truly, W. H. CONNER, M. D.

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 5th, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER.

Dear Sir: Your circular letter of the 1st instant, inviting me to membership in the Washington Conference of the National Sociological Society, is at hand. I am interested in and have ever labored for the betterment of all the people, so far as I was able.

I know there is much to be done in this country toward implanting in the minds and hearts of the people the *true* and *fundamental* principles of our government.

You may record me as a co-laborer in this movement.

Yours truly, JAMES STORUM,
2004 Seventeenth Street.

THE TRINITY BAPTIST CHURCH, TWENTIETH AND CHARLES STREETS,
BALTIMORE, MD., *October 14th, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER, LL. D.,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your invitation to attend the Washington Conference, to be held November 9-11, 1903. In reply would say that I am in hearty sympathy with the movement, and shall, if possible, be present. Wishing you much success in the grand movement,

I am yours fraternally, G. R. WALLER.

THE OUTLOOK, 287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.
NEW YORK, *October 2, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Your letter of October 1st is received. I thank you for this invitation to take part in this Conference, which I hope will be able to shed some light on the very difficult problem which confronts us.

I regret that it is impossible for me to take any part in it, however, as I am engaged throughout the whole month of November in giving a course of lectures at Yale University.

Yours sincerely, LYMAN ABBOTT.

ALL AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF BISHOPS,
PRO-CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 21, 1903.*

MR. KELLY MILLER,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I thank you for your invitation to participate in the conference on the race problem, to be held in this city on November 9th, and I regret that important engagements at home will render it impossible for me to be here at that time. I am deeply interested in the matter proposed for consideration, and pray God's blessing upon your conference.

Very sincerely yours, THOS. F. GAILOR.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 13, 1903.*

My Dear Professor Miller: Yours of the 1st inst. was duly received here, but my absence has prevented an earlier reply.

I feel that I ought not to join your organization—the National Sociological Society—although I heartily approve the purposes for which it is instituted; but I am a member of so many things that I am now beginning to withdraw. I am overloaded with work, and every membership involves some additional attention.

Thanking you for your kindness, I am,

Very truly yours, CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
SANTO DOMINGO CITY, SANTO DOMINGO, *November 18, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary National Sociological Society,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Sir: I have your favor of October 1st by this mail, informing me that it was the purpose and desire of the National Sociological Society to hold a conference and to formulate plans to relieve our present position.

In reply, I would be glad to have the pleasure of being with you on an occasion which means so much to us as a part of the great American Nation, and to devise some plan which can be presented to the National Congress that will conserve the rights we have, and grant to us those withheld which clothe the full American citizen.

I cordially agree with the views set forth in your note, and am sorry that I was not present (Note received November 15th) at your conference. I trust that it will accomplish the object desired, and result in great good to our people.

I remain, sir, your obedient servant, W. F. POWELL.

ATLANTA, GA., *November 12, 1903.*

KELLY MILLER, ESQ., Corresponding Secretary,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I am just able to take up your letter of October 21st. Owing to the exacting nature of my duties it is quite impracticable for me to enter into any other connection at present, although I am sure I should find a great deal in which I could co-operate with the National Sociological Society, had I the time and opportunity to give it attention.

Yours truly, C. K. NELSON, *Bishop of Georgia.*

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
SOUTH ATLANTA, GA., *October 11th, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Professor: I regret my inability to attend the sessions of the National Sociological Association, which is to convene in Washington

next month. I am in hearty sympathy with the movement, and hope that its deliberations will be conducted with moderation and clearness of thought. I hope there will be no compromise of principle, but great wisdom in stating the needs of the hour, and in outlining the method for reaching the same. I warn you against the foxy voice of the prophets of peace. Peace, as the result of a surrender of manhood rights and of the equities between man and man, is the most dangerous delusion that now sings its bewitching music in the ear of the leaders of the race. Throw down no gauntlet of war, but modestly, thoughtfully and firmly state the principle that has led to the elevation of all races, and God and angels, and good men of every race and clime, will honor you for the same. Success to the gathering.

Yours sincerely, J. W. E. BOWEN.

BIDDLE UNIVERSITY, CHARLOTTE, N. C., *October 7, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

N. S. Society, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 1st instant extending me an invitation to attend the approaching meeting of the Conference is received. Owing to previous engagements it is not possible for me to give positive assurance of my presence on that occasion. I am in full sympathy with the purpose of the meeting, and should I find it at all convenient to be present I will avail myself of the opportunity of meeting so many of our leading men whose hearts are in the great work of benefitting the race.

With best wishes, I am yours truly, D. J. SANDERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 12, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

Dear Sir: Every citizen should be interested in the questions to be submitted to the Conference which you ask me to attend.

As I have engagements which will take me out of the city for the week of your meeting, I shall not be able to attend. Thanking you for your invitation, Truly yours, H. V. BOYNTON.

HEADQUARTERS OHIO REPUBLICAN STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Miller: I have your invitation to attend the Conference of the National Sociological Society, November 9-11, and to become a member of the same. This was received at a time when I was very busy in the recent victorious Ohio campaign, and, together with my illness at the time you visited our city, caused me to overlook it. Therefore, I hope that you will pardon my delay for this late acknowledgment. I am greatly interested in all matters appertaining to the betterment of the "race," and have never let an opportunity pass to do what little I could toward the advancement of it—morally, intellectually, industrially and politically. I enclose you a copy of the "colored plank" of the Ohio

platform of 1903, inserted through my personal efforts and the support and co-operation of the race's friend—Hon. Chas. Dick. Again I thank you and wish your Conference a grand success. Kindly enroll me as a member and let me know my share of the expenses.

Regretting my inability to be with you, I am very truly yours,

GEORGE A. MYERS, Cleveland, Ohio.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, ATLANTA, GA.,
November 3, 1903.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR MILLER:

In reply to yours of October 1, I have delayed responding to your circular in regard to the Washington Conference in the hope that I might see my way clear to attending and participating in its deliberations. This I now find to be impracticable, and so I can only send you my best wishes for the success of the meeting, with whose purpose, as expressed in the invitation, I am in hearty sympathy.

Yours very sincerely,

HORACE BUMSTEAD, *President.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *November 3, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary, National Sociological Society.

Dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge receipt of an invitation to attend upon and take part in the deliberations of the Washington Conference, to be held November 9–11, but regret to say that my engagements are such that it will be quite impossible for me to attend upon the meetings. I shall hope that great good may come out of the deliberations of the wise and patriotic men whom you will no doubt gather together at these meetings.

Very respectfully, A. A. BIRNEY.

THE FREEDMEN'S AID AND SOUTHERN EDUCATION SOCIETY
OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
CINCINNATI, OHIO, *October 5, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Miller: Your invitation to attend the Washington conference on November 9–11 has just been received. I am very sorry that I cannot be present with you. Our General Committee meets in Lincoln, Neb., on November 9–10, and it will be impossible for me to get from Lincoln to Washington to be with you the last day. I would gladly do so if I possibly could.

I could almost wish that the date could be changed, but this, I know, is out of the question, and I must deny myself the privilege of being with you. Perhaps later on you may find it necessary to extend your meeting to the 12th; if so, I will make a bee-line from Lincoln to Washington for it seems to me no meeting called by members of the race during the

last quarter of a century is so opportune as is this, and I would like very much to be present and lend a helping hand.

Yours sincerely, M. C. B. MASON, *Cor. Secy.*

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., *October 20, 1903.*

My Dear Professor Miller: I am much interested in the conference call for November and should be glad if it were in my power to contribute to its success. I am, however, for the present so involved in immediate duties that it will not be possible for me to come to Washington this autumn. Thank you for wishing it, and be sure of my sympathetic attention to the subject with which you are to deal.

Cordially yours, FRANCIS G. PEABODY.

PROF. K. MILLER,
Washington, D. C.

THE FLORIDA SENTINEL,
PENSACOLA, FLA., *October 17, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary National Sociological Society,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: Your very kind letter of 13th inst. to hand. Accept my thanks for the invitation to become a member of the Washington conference, to be held in your city next month.

I should like ever so much to be present to witness the deliberations of so important a meeting, but just now I am very busy at work on the "Sentinel's" annual publication, and my presence cannot well be dispensed with at the stated time of the sessions of the conference.

If there is anything that I can do that would in any way tend to give force and character to the results of the conference, let me know.

I shall be glad to devote one full page in my annual edition (December) in a summary way to the proceedings of the conference.

My best wishes for the success of the meeting.

M. M. LEWEY, *Publisher.*

3103 LAWTON AVENUE, ST. LOUIS, MO., *October 25, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I write to thank you for your courteous invitation to meet in conference with the National Sociological Society.

I should like to attend, but cannot, since the meeting is called for the busy season of Sumner High School.

If I should attend it would be with no hope of presenting or of hearing presented the remedial idea sought.

Many wise men have given thought to the subject, but either they have made the wrong diagnosis and given the wrong prescription or the patient has refused to use the remedy. Most likely the latter.

The Negro (the mass) has no initiative, no ambition, no high ideals, no hope. He concurs with the white men in the contempt with which the black race is held. So far as I can see, he is destined, in the future, to be as he has been in the past, the mere *flotsam* and *jetsam* of American life.

You remember that when the Old Guard broke at Waterloo their despairing cry as they fled was, "Let him, who can, save himself."

I recommend that cry as a motto for the higher class of American Negroes.

I am, sir, with respect, yours, PETER H. CLARK.

CHICAGO, *October 10, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: Your kind invitation to attend meeting of Sociological Society has been received. On account of an engagement made with the National Association of Pysicians and Surgeons at Nashville, November 9th to 15th, I will be unable to attend.

Very truly yours, DAN'L H. WILLIAMS.

"VOICE OF THE PEOPLE."

ATLANTA, GA., *October 6, 1903.*

MR. KELLY MILLER,

Dear Sir: Your welcome letter of October 1st was upon my table when I reached home this morning, and its contents have been carefully examined, and I concur in the Convention or Conference which is to be held at Washington, D. C., November 9th to 11th, 1903. I am sorry to my heart, however, I will not be able to attend. Two hundred ministers of the gospel will meet me in an Annual Conference November 4th, and remain in session at least a week. And it will be impossible for me to be absent without sickness or death, but I will concur in any arrangement you make, or in any movement you project, looking to the betterment of our race.

You are at liberty to use my name as a member, or as an officer, in your grand organization.

Truly, H. M. TURNER, *President,*
Bishop of the A. M. E. Church.

DISTRICT JUDGE'S CHAMBERS, UNITED STATES COURTS,
HUNTSVILLE, ALA., *October 16, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary National Sociological Society,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I have yours of the 13th inst. I have always taken a deep interest in the race problem. In both private and public station I have

endeavored to approach the solution on lines of manhood and Christianity. It seems to me at this time, however, that the wisest and best thing is to refrain from conferences and discussion, and, for the present, at least, to let the good, sober sense of the best men of both races work out the solution. A conference, to be of any value, must necessarily take into consideration wherein each race is wanting in its relations to the other, the faults which are to be overcome, etc. Just at this time the discussion of these questions is apt to bring more harm than good. For these reasons, I am unable to accept your invitation to become a member of your conference.

Yours truly, THOS. G. JONES, *Judge.*

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, LIBRARY, *October 24, 1903.*

PROFESSOR KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Replying to yours of October 22d, with your very courteous suggestion that I become a member of the Washington Conference to consider the condition of the colored people of the United States, on November 9–11, I regret to say that definite previous engagements for the dates named make it impossible for me to be with you.

In common with all good citizens I regard with keen interest and with no little anxiety every intelligent effort which is put forth to relieve the present strained situation. Some way must be found by which full justice shall be done to all citizens of the United States, without regard to race or color, or we shall surely be obliged again to pass through the Red Sea. Nations being corporate bodies and without souls, have no hereafter, and hence must be punished in this world; and all history assures us that for the nation which refuses justice and neglects mercy God's thunderbolts follow a straight track.

I hope and pray that much good may come from your Conference.

Cordially yours, JAMES M. CANFIELD, *Librarian.*

THE CHURCH HOUSE OF THE DIOCESE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
PHILADELPHIA, *October 12, 1903.*

MR. KELLY MILLER.

Dear Sir: I am obliged for the invitation extended to me to attend the meeting of the Sociological Society in Washington in November. The importance of the meeting is very great, and I am in hearty sympathy with it. I regret to say, however, it will not be possible for me to be present, as previous engagements will prevent my absence from Philadelphia at that time.

I remain, dear sir, very truly yours, ALEX. MACKAY-SMITH,
Bishop Coadjutor of Pennsylvania.

NEW YORK, *September 19, 1903.*

MR. JESSE LAWSON,
2011 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Lawson: I am in receipt of your communication of September 14, 1903, informing me of my election as a member of the board of counsellors for the National Sociological Society.

I appreciate the honor, and I accept the position.

I think it is time for the thoughtful men of the race to study sociological conditions affecting the race in a scientific manner, and from such study draw logical deductions, which must necessarily precede suggestions for effective remedies of the evils found to exist.

If possible I shall be at the Conference on November 9–11.

Thanking you for the honor, yours very truly, JAMES D. CARR.

ATLANTA, GA., *October 19, 1903.*

Dear Sir: Replying to your favor of the 13th instant, I beg to say that it will not be possible for me to attend the proposed convention, November 9–11. Other engagements prevent.

Yours truly, W. A. CANDLER,
Bishop of Georgia.

THE FREEDMEN'S AID AND SOUTHERN EDUCATION SOCIETY
OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
CINCINNATI, OHIO, *October 19, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Miller: Referring to the invitation of the National Sociological Society to their coming meeting in Washington, I regret exceedingly that it occurs just at the date when we are in Lincoln, Neb., at the meeting of the General Committee of this society.

I am deeply interested in the work of the National Sociological Society, as well as in every other movement looking to the uplifting of the race whose best interest it has been my privilege to serve for a score of years.

You may have noted that I recently had occasion to speak on the effects of the convict-lease system in the South as one of the sources of the criminals among the Negro race in the South. I am glad to know that the Associated Press took it up and has given it to the entire Southern press, as well as to the press of the Nation. The large number of editorials that have already reached me indicate that there will be an aroused interest in this phase of the problem.

Permit me to thank you for the help I have received through your writings.

With good wishes, I am, faithfully yours,

W. P. THIRKIELD,
Corresponding Secretary.

DIOCESAN HOUSE, 29 LAFAYETTE PLACE,
NEW YORK, *October 23, 1903.*

KELLY MILLER, ESQ.,

My Dear Sir: I regret that a previous engagement will prevent my attending the meeting of which you have just notified me.

Very truly yours, H. C. POTTER, *Bishop of New York.*

TUSKEGEE, ALA., *October 18, 1903.*

My Dear Mr. Miller: I thank you for your kind invitation to be present at the meeting of the Washington Conference, and sincerely regret that I shall not be able to attend. Anything that can better the unfortunate condition of the Negro will meet my hearty approval. I wish the Conference every success.

Gratefully, J. M. LANGSTON.

NEW YORK, *October 12th, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Prof. Miller: I have read with much interest the circular of the National Sociological Society, concerning the Race question.

I am glad to notice that the keynote is your own remark, that I have so often quoted, about the triple alliance that is needed for the solution of the Race question.

It would please me extremely to attend the sessions of the Conference in Washington, but my business engagements for the dates indicated will not permit.

I am strongly impressed with the conviction that the country needs an academic discussion of the question, that will bring out in bold lines the causes for encouragement and hope; the colored people need this enlightenment quite as much as do the white people; so much can be said about this point that a full case would astonish the country. The progress of the colored people under all the circumstances is quite remarkable, and the silent forces that are at work for improvement are very powerful.

About one point I am extremely anxious, and it is that the best South should speak its convictions. How to bring this about I do not know, but I have been earnestly at work with Southern men of conservative tendencies, large intelligence and good conscience, in the hope that they may give public expression to the view that they hold.

I could ramble on without limit, but time does not permit. I welcome the idea of your Conference, and feel that it must result in good, if controlled by men of intelligence and patience.

Yours very sincerely, ROBERT C. OGDEN.

SHAW UNIVERSITY, RALEIGH, N. C., *October 7, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

Howard University, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your favor of the 1st instant informing me that there is to be in Washington in November a Conference to deliberate on the more serious phases of the race question, and requesting me to be present. I wish to thank you for the invitation and to say that it does not now look as if I can attend the Conference at that time, as I have so much other outside work to look after in the next few months.

Faithfully yours, CHAS. F. MESERVE, *President.*

CONCORD, N. C., *October 19, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

Dear Sir: Accept my most sincere thanks for your invitation to attend the Conference of November 11.

I am not sure that it will be possible for me to be present, but you will have my sympathy and in every way possible my co-operation in your effort to abate the evils resulting from this "race problem."

Very truly, D. J. SATTERFIELD.

"THE PLANET," RICHMOND, VA., *October 5th, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

Howard University, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: Your favor of October 1st is before me and I hasten to express to you my approval of the aims and purposes of the National Sociological Society. I shall hardly be able to attend its sessions, but I hope that much good may be accomplished as a result of its efforts.

Very truly yours, JOHN MITCHELL, JR.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, ADELBERT COLLEGE,
CLEVELAND, OHIO, *October 24th, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

My Dear Sir: The pleasure I had in meeting and hearing you is enhanced by the receiving of the circular note, signed by yourself, inviting me to the Washington Conference, November 9-11. I wish I were able to come; but engagements already made prevent. My limitations, however, do not forbid my sending to you my heartiest wishes that the Conference may be able to accomplish its most worthy purpose.

We are going to solve this question. We are not to despair of the human race, or of any race of it. But for the solution we need all the best elements of personality and statesmanship.

Believe me, with much regard, ever yours,

CHARLES F. THWING.

LAW OFFICES OF ALBERT E. PILLSBURY,
BOSTON, *October 5, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

My Dear Sir: I am indebted to you for the circular and invitation to the Washington Conference of November 9th. I am glad to see that such a movement, or any movement contributing to the solution of this question, is on foot, but, as I should be unable to attend the conference, I think it is hardly worth while for me to be enrolled as a member.

Very truly yours, A. E. PILLSBURY.

LOUISVILLE, KY., *October 10, 1903.*

MR. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary, Etc., Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: I write to thank you for the invitation I have received to attend the Washington Conference on November 9th and to express my regret that my official engagements will prevent my doing so.

Faithfully yours, T. U. DUDLEY,
Bishop of Kentucky.

ST. PATRICK'S RECTORY,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 6, 1903.*

MR. KELLY MILLER,
National Sociological Society, Howard University.

Dear Sir: My engagements are so numerous and my duties at home so exacting that it will be impossible for me to attend the Conference of the National Sociological Society. I have been absent from the city most of the summer, and find my affairs in a chaotic state.

I wish you every success, and I hope that great good will come out of the meeting.

Very truly yours, D. J. STAFFORD.

CHICAGO, *October 14, 1903.*

KELLY MILLER, ESQ.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Your favor at hand. Thanks for your kind invitation.

I would be pleased to be present at the Washington Conference if I could. My engagements here in the courts render it impossible for me to be absent at all between now and the new year.

Trust your gathering may be productive of much good.

Yours truly, E. H. MORRIS.

ZÜRICH, SWITZERLAND, *October 22, 1903.*

MR. KELLY MILLER,

My Dear Sir: I regret that official duties on this side of the Atlantic will render it impossible for me to accept your invitation for November 9–11.

I am fully satisfied that hosts of the best and wisest white people of the South are eager to devise some scheme for the guaranteeing of full justice to the Negro. They have less prejudice against him and possibly more real affection for him than many of his noisier friends in the North, and will welcome every effort of judicious patriots and philanthropists, North and South, to fit him for true citizenship in the near future.

I wish abundant success to your effort to discover and to develop the "wisdom, patriotism and love of fair play" so necessary in this hour of real peril to a great Nation, a deserving race and a perplexed section of our country.

Respectfully yours, JOHN H. VINCENT.
Bishop, M. E. Church.

SOUTHWESTERN CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., *October 7, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, and desire to say, while I would be very much gratified to attend the meeting of the Sociological Society, Nov. 9–11, 1903, I cannot possibly do so. According to present plans, at that very time I will be attending an important financial board meeting of my church in Omaha, Neb. Nevertheless, I wish for the movement the very best possible success, and sincerely trust that something may be said and done that will prove helpful to the race.

Yours truly, I. B. SCOTT.

THE FARMERS' IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY OF TEXAS,
PARIS, TEXAS, *November 1, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary, National Sociological Society.

Dear Sir: I have delayed for some time the reply to your letter of October 13th, hoping that I might see my way to saying, when I did answer, that I would be present at the meeting of the organization of which you are Corresponding Secretary.

I regret that my duties here will not permit me to accept the invitation, but if you will kindly enroll me as a member, anything I can do, financially or otherwise, to help the movement along will be cheerfully done.

Don't give the Lord out, or His people in America.

There's a better day ahead. This is our working time, praying time, thinking time and waiting time.

I don't believe, taking the whole country over, that we are really losing any ground. Sincerely yours, R. L. SMITH.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, REPRESENTATIVE READING ROOM,
WASHINGTON, *November 6, 1903.*

MR. JESSE LAWSON,
President National Sociological Society.

Dear Sir: I hope to be present at the evening sessions of the "Washington Conference," and may feel it my duty to take part in some of the general discussions should a favorable opportunity offer.

With thanks for the invitation extended, I remain the life-lasting friend of your race,

JAMES Q. HOWARD.

NEW JERSEY AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, EXPERIMENT STATION,
NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J., *October 20, 1903.*

KELLY MILLER, ESQ.,
Corresponding Secretary National Sociological Society.

Dear Sir: I have the honor to announce the receipt of your kind invitation to participate in the "Washington Conference," November 9-11, and as I am deeply interested in the problems to be considered at said Conference I regret the more to be unable, owing to pressing duties, to be present.

It seems to me that the seriousness of the "Race Problem" is proportional to the extent to which we realize the inferiority of the Negro to his paler-faced fellow citizens. If there is no real race inferiority, then there is no true basis for a race "problem." If there be a serious degree of inferiority weighing against the Negro race, then it were folly for the superior race to allow the other to interbreed or even to multiply within the same national boundaries. In that case, the remedy is definitely plain—viz.: let every male born of a Negro woman in the United States be circumcised the eighth day, and at the same time suffer castration. To deport the race is out of the question; to erect a special Negro State is also impracticable.

Not for a moment is the question of "inferiority" to be confused with that of "social equality," if by social equality we mean the free intermingling of the two races at all public functions. For we allow cats and dogs and horses to be our familiar friends and to share, so far as they can, in the common comforts of life. They who can abide Negro servants cannot rationally object to riding with Negroes in cars, nor to meeting them at receptions. The deeper aspect of social equality, by which I mean the exercise of friendship and the bestowal of honors, is a question not of race or class, but of *individual attainments and character.* Just as we invite only the few "chosen" whites to participate in such intimacies, so we do not exclude any Negro who may similarly rise superior to the general level of mankind, and so become worthy of special respect.

The fact that there are and have been such Negroes, through the operation of whatever special causes, gives ground for objection to the radical remedy suggested above, even though the average of the Negro race lies below the average of the white race. For on that view, while the general

average of the American people may range lower than it would were the Negro eliminated, yet the presence of this race does not *prevent* progress though it may *delay* such, nor does it subtract from the greatness of the superior individuals, who are the real leaders and the indicators of civilizaton.

On this view, the real problem is resolved into one applying equally to both races, and becomes merged into other problems now engaging the attention of educators, sociologists, reformers, etc. As regards the special abhorrence which the white person has for certain crimes—emphasized still more when the perpetrator is one of a different race, such abhorrence is natural and right. It explains lynchings, but in nowise excuses the bestial abominations accompanying these acts. In fact, such scenes only throw doubt on the alleged racial superiority of the whites.

Justice calls for a law impartially administered, to both races alike, one radical and efficient when administered—this law, viz.: let every male who reveals criminal instincts of well-defined characteristics (which shall be formulated by an expert commission of psychologists), let *such male criminal be castrated*. This would help the progress of mankind more than any other measure. And it would doubtless be advisable to supplement this by providing that dangerous and mischievous persons shall be *confined for life* in a public work house.

Respectfully, JULIUS NELSON.

ST. ATHANASIUS CHURCH, BRUNSWICK, GA., *October 5, 1903.*

MY DEAR MR. MILLER,

Your favor of October 1st to hand, setting forth the aim and scope of the Washington Conference. The hearty co-operation of all thoughtful persons is indeed necessary to make the Society a success. I gladly accept the invitation to become a member of the organization, and will co operate in any way that I can to bring about the desired end.

Praying God's blessings upon the effort, I am faithfully yours,

SCOTT WOOD,
Warden of St. Athanasius School.

THE CITIZENS' NATIONAL BANK OF CUMBERLAND,
CUMBERLAND, MD., *October 7, 1903.*

KELLY MILLER ESQ.,
Corresponding Secretary, National Sociological Society,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: I desire to acknowledge receipt of and thank you for the invitation to attend the "Washington Conference" to deliberate on the Race question and to formulate plans for the relief of the situation.

The Race question is a serious problem confronting our people, demanding an intelligent effort toward a solution. I hope the Conference which you have called may succeed in doing something toward this most praiseworthy end. I will endeavor to be present. Very sincerely,

GEO. L. WELLINGTON.

THE INDEPENDENT, EDITORIAL ROOMS,
NEW YORK, *October 13, 1903.*

Dear Sir: I thank you for the invitation to your Sociological Conference, November 9–11. I doubt if I shall be able to attend, although it would be a great pleasure to do so. Possibly I may.

I am, yours truly, WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

ALTOONA, PA., *October 19, 1903.*

HON. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I beg to ackowledge the honor of the receipt of your recent favor, inviting me to become a member and participate in the deliberations of the Sociological Society at Washington, November 9–11, 1903. I beg to assure you it will afford me very great pleasure to be with you.

Very truly yours, J. B. RAYMOND.

FLANNER GUILD NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE,
INDIANAPOLIS, *October 6, 1903.*

MR. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 1st instant at hand, and I am pleased to note such a movement among the thoughtful ones of our race. I appreciate the need of concerted action, and the greatest good must result from the careful consideration of these questions that so perplex us.

I appreciate your invitation to be present at such a Conference, and hope I may be able to avail myself of the privilege offered. It is, however, impossible for me to give a definite answer at this time as to whether I can attend or not.

Wishing you the greatest success, and thanking you for the invitation, I am yours truly, B. J. MORGAN, *President.*

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *October 5, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary, National Sociological Society,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I am pleased to acknowledge the receipt of your very cordial invitation to become a member of a Conference to be held in Washington, D. C., November the 9th–11th. I thank you, and through you the members of the Society, for the invitation, and I hope to be present. I am fully in accord with the purposes of this Conference, and believe it timely, and, with such gentlemen as I notice are associated with you, I am sure great good will be accomplished.

Very truly yours, JAMES LEWIS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 12, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary, National Sociological Society,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Your communication, setting forth the object of the National Sociological Society and inviting me into its membership, has been received, and in reply let me say nothing would give me greater pleasure than to ally myself with an organization of such lofty aims, and one that can only be productive of the very best results in remedying the evils which have fastened themselves upon us, and putting us in positional eminence to plead our own cause at the bar of American patriotism and common sense. I shall be glad in any way to serve you and the cause so happily espoused.

Thanking you for the honor conferred, I beg to remain,

Yours truly, W. BISHOP JOHNSON.

ST. PAUL COLLEGE OF OSTEOPATHY,
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, *October 6, 1903.*

MR. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary National Sociological Society.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 1st instant at hand. Contents noted. I accept the invitation to become a member of grand institution, and deem it a great honor to be so associated.

Yours very truly, DR. O. D. HOWARD.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J., *October 9, 1903.*

KELLY MILLER, ESQ.,
Corresponding Secretary, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your circular of the 1st instant, and hope to be able to be present at the conference to be held next month.

Yours very truly, BENJ. F. HOWELL.

BALTIMORE, MD., *October 14, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Prof. Miller: Your kind invitation to be one of a Conference to be held in Washington, November 9–11, under the auspices of the National Sociological Society, was received yesterday. In reply permit me to thank you for the invitation and to say that I shall regard it a privilege to attend.

Yours truly, W. ASHBIE HAWKINS.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OF THE A. M. E. CHURCH,
KITTRELL, N. C., *October 5, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary N. S. S., Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I thank you very much for invitation to become a part of the Washington Conference to convene in Washington, D. C., November 9–11.

I shall try to arrange to be present and take part in what I consider to be a very important movement in the interest of our people.

I will let you know later as to whether or not I can certainly be present.

Thanking you for the honor of the invitation, I beg to remain yours truly,

J. R. HAWKINS.

WASHINGTON RAILWAY AND ELECTRIC COMPANY,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 12, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary National Sociological Society,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: It was very kind of you to send me an invitation to become a member of the Washington conference. If I can be of any assistance to the society, you may be certain that I am ready to do my part. As to attendance upon the sessions at its opening, let me say that business will render it impossible. While you are discussing the great national problem I may be engaged in looking after the more selfish yet necessary interests with which I am closely associated. With this reservation as to non-attendance at the opening sessions, may I ask to be numbered as one of the conference?

With kindest regards, I am, sincerely yours,

GEO. H. HARRIES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 5, 1903.*

MY DEAR PROFESSOR MILLER: I thank you for the invitation, just at hand, to become a member of the Washington conference, to be held in this city, November 9–11.

Understanding that this gathering is to be in no sense political or partisan, but open to free and unprejudiced expression of all phases of opinion, I shall be glad to attend its sessions as a member, so far as other very pressing duties will permit. I wish to be most explicit in saying that I do not thus commit myself to any side, now under discussion, of the so-called race problem.

Sincerely yours, TEUNIS S. HAMLIN.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 8th, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Cor. Secretary, National Sociological Society.

Dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of an invitation to attend a Conference, to be held at Washington, November 9th and 11th, and to say that it will give me great pleasure to attend the sessions.

I am very cordially yours, JOHN GORDON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 3d, 1903.*

MY DEAR PROF. MILLER:

In reply to your favor of October 1st, inviting me to become a member of the Washington Conference, &c., to meet in Washington, D. C., November 9–11, 1903, permit me to say that I will be pleased to accept the invitation and contribute my mite toward any definite action to be taken which tends toward the relief of the strained situation referred to in your letter.

With my very best wishes, I am very sincerely yours for justice.

JNO. R. FRANCIS, M. D.

FIRST AFRICAN BAPTIST CHURCH,
PHILADELPHIA, PA., *October 8, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER:

My Dear Sir: I have received the notice for the Washington Conference of the National Sociological Society. I believe it a move in the right direction.

I shall aim to attend the sessions.

Yours, etc., WM. A. CREDITT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 9, 1903.*

PROF. K. MILLER:

Dear Sir: I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to become a member of the *National Sociological Society Conference.*

I hereby notify you that I accept the invitation, and will attend as best I can. Yours sincerely, M. W. CLAIR.

LUTHER PLACE MEMORIAL CHURCH,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 6, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Secretary, &c.

I am in full sympathy with all wise efforts to solve the grave problem before the National Sociological Society, and will be glad of any service I can render in connection with the proposed Conference.

Trusting for guidance in a Wisdom higher than human, I am,

Very truly yours, J. G. BUTLER, *Pastor.*

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213 E. CAPITOL STREET,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 15, 1903.*

TO PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University.

My Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your note of October 18th, in regard to the proposed "Washington Conference," to consider the race problem, to be held next month.

I am afraid I can contribute very little towards its solution, but if I am not compelled to be absent from the city, I shall be glad to attend the

meetings all that I can. I have been absent from the city until within a week, and considerable pressure of accumulated matters prevented an earlier response to your letter.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

HENRY W. BLAIR.

LINCOLN INSTITUTE,
JEFFERSON CITY, MO., *October 14, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: In reply to yours of recent date, I will say that I shall be glad to become a member of the National Sociological Society, and that I will make an effort to attend the Conference next month.

Yours very truly, B. F. ALLEN, *President.*

CHICAGO, *October 12, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary National Sociological Society,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I shall be pleased to become identified with the National Sociological Society. I approve of the methods of work as outlined in your circular letter of the 1st instant. My presence with the Conference November 9–11 is doubtful. I should like, however, to be advised of its proceedings and future meetings. I shall gladly perform such duties of membership as the society may impose.

Very truly yours, C. E. BENTLEY.

WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY,
WILBERFORCE, OHIO, *October 7, 1903.*

My Dear Professor Miller: Yours is received. In reply I would say that I think well of the National Sociological Society, and I have no doubt, if properly managed, that it can be made an organization for good. I am very sure that I cannot be with you often, yet I venture to accept your invitation to become a member of the Conference. I do so because I am deeply interested in the cause represented by it. I sincerely trust that none but wise, level-headed men will be allowed to control it—men of national reputation and sound judgment. We need that class of men now at the head of all movements looking to the good of the race generally.

I trust you will keep me posted as to matters. I see no dues mentioned, but I suppose there will be some.

With many thanks for your courtesy, I am, my dear Professor,

Yours very sincerely, W. S. SCARBOROUGH,
Vice-President.

TO PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary.

UNION MERCANTILE AND MANUFACTURING ASSOCIATION,
RICHMOND, VA., *October 22, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Yours at hand. Allow me to congratulate you upon the formation of a National Sociological Association, which certainly fills a unique and much-needed place in the life of our race.

I shall be delighted to become a member, if possible, as I am deeply interested in the subject.

I think the proposed conference a magnificent idea, and should be delighted to be a member of the same.

I thank you for the honor you do me in asking my participation in this deliberation, and shall be glad to do my poor might for its advancement.

Thanking you for your kindness, and wishing you abundant success, I am, Very truly, D. WEBSTER DAVIS.

NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN COUNCIL,
ROCHESTER, N. Y., *November 7, 1903.*

PROF. JESSE LAWSON,

Dear Friend: I had made all arrangements to attend the Conference of the National Sociological Society, which convenes in your city Monday, November 9, 1903. Sudden illness, however, yesterday, prevents my leaving the city at this time to be present and taking part in this most important meeting. I have no doubt but that some plan will be suggested in your wise judgment that will tend to relieve the present conditions of the race. The most thoughtful and conservative of both races can certainly do much to solve the race problem. But what we most desire is the same opportunity as any other citizen, to live and enjoy the fruits of freedom in this our country.

I shall be pleased to serve you in any way for the good of our race.

I am yours very truly, JOHN W. THOMPSON, *Treasurer.*

THE UNION TRUST COMPANY,
INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *October 6, 1903.*

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of the invitation to attend the proposed Conference next month and regret that it is not possible for me to do so. I trust that the body may be able to devise some measures or reach some conclusions as to future action that may be valuable. The object has my profound sympathy.

Yours truly, JOHN H. HOLLIDAY, *President.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 5, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Your circular letter of the 1st instant to our Mr. Ralston, inviting him to become a member of a Conference to be held in this city November 9-11, to consider phases of the race question, is at hand. Mr.

Ralston, as you may know, is at present in Caracas, Venezuela, and his return is hardly expected before the dates set for the convening of the Conference, but should he return before then, your letter will be called to his attention.

Truly yours, RALSTON SIDDONS.

DETROIT, MICH., *October 7, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: This comes to acknowledge the receipt of your circular letter of the 1st instant inviting me to attend a Conference to be held in your city November 9th to 11th. The purpose of the Conference is most worthy, and I only regret that circumstances are not favorable for my attendance.

Hoping that the expectations of yourself and associates in the matter may be fully realized, and with sentiments of high regard,

Very truly, C. S. SMITH, *Bishop A. M. E. Church.*

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 12, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

Howard University.

My Dear Prof. Miller: Your kind invitation to be a member of the Conference proposed by the National Sociological Society is just at hand, and I thank you for the courtesy.

It now seems likely that I shall be out of town, in New England, that entire week, and so I cannot accept, much as I would like to help the work.

Hoping that the meeting may be fruitful in good suggestions, I am

yours sincerely, S. M. NEWMAN, *Pastor.*

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *October 10th, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

Corresponding Secretary.

My Dear Sir: Pardon me for not replying to your letter dated 1st inst., sooner. The month of October ushers in the court sessions after vacation, and my time is limited, and for that reason I cannot attend the Conference at Washington on the dates selected. I am convinced though that a conference which involves for discussion sociologic questions, which cannot be ignored in studying the character in institutions of the American people is of great concern just at this crucial period in the future of the race. It is also a political question for it involves the relations of two radically different races of people which compose our population. I have followed carefully with interest and intellectual profit, your writings and addresses upon the race question. I am heartily in accord with your advanced teachings.

You can count me in the movement foreshadowed by the circular call for the "conference;" and, knowing personally a large majority of the gentlemen associated with you in this important step, I feel no hesitancy in subscribing myself as one of them.

With high regard, very truly, J. MADISON VANCE.

THE SEVENTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT OF THE
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
ATLANTA, GA., *October 13, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,

Dear Sir: Your letter requesting me to be present at the meeting of the National Sociological Society, November 9th to 11th, received. In reply allow me to say that I shall be engaged holding conferences (annual) in my district at that time. Hence, you see, I shall be compelled to decline your kind invitation. This I very much regret.

Wishing you much success, I am very truly,

W. J. GAINES, *Bishop Presiding.*

THE ALLEN SCHOOL, WEST NEWTON, MASS.,
October 24, 1903.

GEORGE H. WHITE, ESQ.,
609 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Your favor of October 1st, inviting me to become a member of the Washington Conference, was duly received. I appreciate the honor of the invitation, and should like very much to become a member of the Conference and participate in its deliberations, but my engagements are such it will be impossible for me to do so on the dates named.

Thanking you for the invitation, I remain yours cordially,

ALBERT EDWARD BAILEY.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *October 31, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary National Sociological Society,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: I have to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation of your society to become a member of a Conference called to be held in your city November 9-11. I have delayed acknowledging the receipt of the invitation for the purpose of ascertaining whether my business engagements will permit my attendance at that time or not. I regret to say that from present appearance they will not. Should I find later that they will, it will give me great pleasure to be present.

Very truly yours, T. J. MINTON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 27, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER,
Corresponding Secretary National Sociological Society,
Howard University.

Dear Sir: In response to your invitation, dated October 1, 1903, to attend and participate in a Conference to be held in Washington, D. C., on November 9-11, 1903, it gives me great pleasure to say that I hope to find time to attend at least a part of the several sessions that will be held.

To add any words expressive of my interest in the objects of that Conference, and of my hope that plans may be formulated, adopted and set in way of application to ease the strained conditions of the race question, would be useless; all well-meaning persons desire that.

Very sincerely, A. F. CRAVEN,
Professor in Columbian University.

BUREAU OF EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 23, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER:
Howard University, City.

Dear Sir: I shall be pleased to participate in the deliberations of the Conference, November 9-11, as far as possible. My duties at my desk may make it inconvenient to be at the Conference during all its sessions, but I hope that I may attend some of them.

Respectfully, L. R. KLEMM.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *November 6, 1903.*

PROF. KELLY MILLER:
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Miller: You will please pardon my failure to reply promptly to your very courteous invitation to take part in the Washington Conference.

Having so many duties to look after, it was impossible for me to prepare anything to submit, and then I was not sure that I'd be in the city at the time of the meeting; even now I fear that I shall not be able to attend Monday. If possible, I shall be present at some of the sessions.

Again thanking you for your very kind invitation, I am,
Yours faithfully, C. F. ADAMS.

The following letter was recently received:

CHICAGO, ILL., *March 11, 1904.*

MR. JESSE LAWSON,
2011 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Friend: In reply to yours of March 2d, I write to say that the general conference of the A. M. E. Church meets in my district May 1st (at Chicago) and will have nearly five hundred men to entertain. Every moment of my time is taken with the committee of arrangements, and I do not see my way clear to furnish the desired article on "Race Harmony." I regret it very much, but cannot do otherwise.

Yours faithfully, A. GRANT,
Bishop A. M. E. Church.

Chapter VI.

Discussion on Race Segregation and Distribution having been resumed, Hon. George H. White spoke as follows:

Hon. Geo. H. White:

I cannot agree with the gentleman who has presented, as a solution of the race problem, the segregation of the races. The mere suggestion of the proposition brings to one's mind the impracticability, as well as the impossibility, of such a plan. The colored Americans will never leave this country, in any considerable numbers, of their own motion. And to force them to leave would require a complete change in our organic laws. But, if we were willing to leave, or if the Constitution were changed so we could be forced to go, a majority of the white people of this country would never consent for us to do so, not to mention the impossibility of transporting 10,000,000 people to any foreign land.

My plan is, a systematic thinning out of the congested sections of the South, known as the Black Belt, embracing Eastern North Carolina, South Carolina, portions of Georgia and Texas, Alabama and especially Mississippi, by a healthy transfer of the colored people from these States, to the North, East and West, and there lose them among other races of our republic. I do not believe it would be well for the transfer to be made in large numbers, to any one section of the country or State—such a course would incur the danger of creating conditions akin to those of which we now complain in the South. While there may be some difference by reason of training, environment, etc., still human nature is much the same, regardless of sections.

If some plan could be devised by which employment and temporary homes could be obtained for one or two millions of our people, and they transferred from the South to other parts of our republic, where they could have new ideals, new and increased opportunities for the education of their children, where they could be treated as men and women, it would be far better for those making the change, and tend greatly to increase the advantages of those left behind, by increased wages and better treatment on the part of the white South to prevent other colored people from leaving.

I cannot say that I have any specific plan to offer along this line, but throw out the suggestion for consideration. Something in this direction could be done if some of our more favored colored men could be induced, either as individuals or in companies, to buy up large tracts of land in the Northern, Eastern and Western sections of our country, and there establish small colonies, and thus pave the way for home getting by our less fortunate brothers in the South. The gravity of our present situation is worth the experiment, at any rate, and I hope to see it tried.

HON. JOHN P. GREEN:

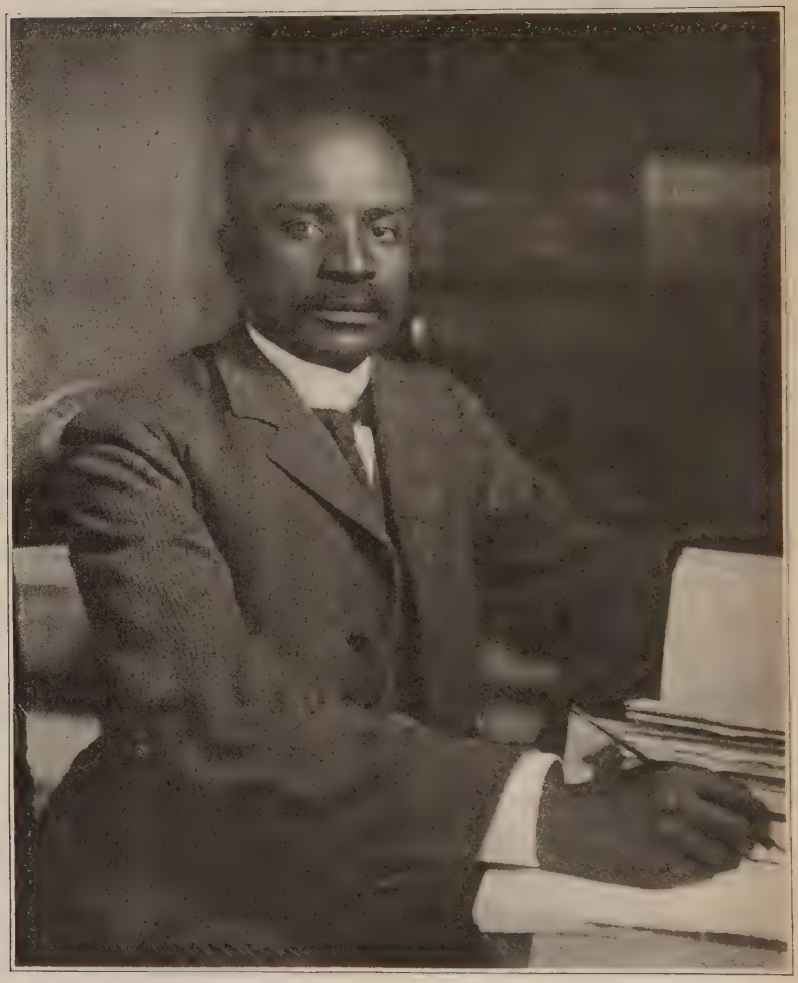
During the period immediately preceding the Civil War, a great many colored men left the State of North Carolina. The omens were not auspicious. It was easily seen that a storm was brewing. They finally scattered over the North and Northwest. In stumping the State of Ohio I found in places, in remote sections where a person would not expect to find them, colonies of Negroes, thrifty people. Out in one God-forsaken section they make a boast that a Negro never found lodgement in their midst. They are distributed all over the Buckeye State—thrifty owners of broad acres, well-to-do, respectable colored men and women, who live there and are honored and satisfied. Now what has been accomplished there can be accomplished elsewhere. If from the congested places in the South, men would go where they are respected—would go into the territory of the great Northwest (it is an ideal country, where a man is a man regardless of color, if he will only stand forth and prove his manhood), it would help. This idea of segregation is nonsensical; is injurious; it is doing the Negro more harm today than all else combined. Before the war there were millions of big-hearted white men who believed in fair play and justice from man to man; who worked for the slave when he couldn't work for himself; who took up the musket and went into the army and fought that the proclamation might be possible. Today any effort made by haters of the Negro to eliminate him would be met and opposed by this same God-fearing class of white citizens. So, let us go where we can breathe the pure air and be the men and women we should be in this country.

MR. REUBEN S. SMITH:

I want to endorse the remarks favoring the distribution in northern and western States. I am a native of Florida, and have known of instances where a colored man would be working for ten dollars a month, with a wife and four or five children, and a man out of a job would take his place at eight dollars; the last man would be taken. There was a man who thought a man couldn't live on ten dollars a month and was giving twenty dollars. He was assassinated because he was giving ruination wages to Negroes. There should be distribution. Twenty-five years ago we took interest in this very thing. I was a member of an exodus society. We had some of these same white men with us. That exodus society caused several thousand people to leave North Carolina and go to Indiana. This city was a sort of half-way station. There were several hundred who became stranded, and the people of Washington came to the rescue, opened their churches, lodged them until they could be sent on. We heard from them afterward, and they have done well. There were none among those who were banished from Indiana a few months ago. We made inquiry. This goes to show that when a Southerner goes away from the South to the North he does not become an idler. I believe in distribution, and I know it would help us.

REV. GEO. F. BRAGG:

Segregation would be difficult, in that the people are opposed to it. The Southern planters are not of a mind to lose their colored laborers. We



KELLY MILLER, LL. D.,
Professor of Mathematics, Howard University, Washington, D. C.;
Corresponding Secretary, National Sociological Society;
Member of the Commission on the Race Problem, Sociological Society.

will run into serious trouble; it may not be an insurmountable one. A great many who would like to go have nothing to go with; another one is to find out what States have districts which are available. Perhaps bishops or other churchmen might aid in thus locating these people.

DR. ALGERNON S. CRAPSEY:

I want to call the attention of the Conference to the fact that there is very great scarcity of agricultural labor in many districts of the North. We are suffering in some parts today because we cannot farm our property; fruit is hanging on the trees. If information could be spread abroad that there are such regions crying out for cultivation, in places where the colored man can be treated as a man, where he is looked upon with considerable honor, and the colored population is very highly respected; if some definite plan could be made to give information to the South, it would be a great help.

PROF. KELLY MILLER:

In the first place, Mr. Frederick Douglass used to say that wherever the Negro goes he carries himself with him. I fear if he should go to the North in considerable numbers he would carry himself with him. The Negro shows no disposition to scatter himself out promiscuously. For forty years the stream in other directions has not been prevented. The race shows no tendency to scatter itself. I deny the statement of the congested condition of the population of the South. The South is the most thinly populated section in the country except some parts of the West. We say that the population is congested in Georgia and want it to go to New York. It ought to go in the other direction. We want to encourage people to let down buckets where they are and not to be running to and fro. This does not apply to the individual. It would be very unwise to advocate it as a race policy.

PROF. JESSE LAWSON:

I have taken no part in these debates. In making out the program we had to consider propositions that were before us for solution, and we called this Conference because we felt that the situation in this country was such as to require the best brain of the white men and of the colored men, North and South. Looking over the whole field of work, we came to the conclusion that we must get men who have propositions for solution, whether we accept them or not, and segregation is one proposition for the solution of this race problem. Let us look at it in a practical sense. A few years ago we had from the State of Mississippi a United States Senator, and again from the same State another United States Senator. We have no one to speak for us now in the Senate. We had seven members of Congress at one time in the House of Representatives; now we have not a single Member there. We are not advocating segregation, but simply stating the proposition under segregation. Suppose we had four States where the colored people had absolute control; we would have four Governors in the United States. We have none now, and no prospect of getting any. Furthermore, though every man may be opposed to seg-

regation, I speak for our colored brethren, yet every colored man would want to be in the States over which the colored people had control. This is specially true respecting the politicians among us, because they want to come to the United States Senate and House of Representatives. Were I elected to the Senate from the Colored State, everyone of you—colored brethren—would be laying plans to capture my seat before my term had half expired. We would have eight United States Senators if we had four States, and if we got all the colored people there we would have fifty Members in Congress. Do you suppose that the political parties would do, and act, and play with us as they do now? We would have fifty-eight electoral votes. All parties would play for our strength and play for our support. It may be hard for us, it would be hard for us, to say "good bye" to our white fellow-citizens, but we must do something to meet this situation. In taking up this question, without advocating it, I suggest that it would be well that Congress propose to the States this proposition: That all of the States shall guarantee to each citizen, whether white or black, every right he ought to have, and support him in that right; that the Colored people, if agreeable to them, should remain in those States guaranteeing equal protection under the law, but leave the States which discriminate on account of race or color. That would end the race issue in the States. We feel an interest in this Nation just as other people feel, and we want to stop this agitation, this bloodshed, this travesty on liberty. We want the Constitution and the Government lived up to. We want this question taken out of politics and settled in the forum of reason and wise statesmanship.

REV. A. M. GREEN:

I have been hearing a great deal and reading a great deal about segregation and the impossibility of two distinct races living together in harmony, and of distribution, but we have this misfortune: that in the social science of the world we have not found a man or number of men among the worldly wise men who have been writing upon these subjects who can tell us how to discriminate between races so as to prove what they say, "that the two races cannot live together in harmony of distinctive classes." If I understand what is revealed to us in history, from the earliest knowledge we have of races and race antipathies, they have been living together and are today. What we want is to know how we can get rid of the trouble that exists, the lack of harmony that exists between two races on the American continent; and yet adjustment is being made with dozens of races who are coming in, viz: Italians, Hungarians and others. The difference is that these others are white and we are colored. Well, suppose this to be true; what is there in that? What is there in a name? The adjustment of conditions is the thing we are after and the thing that is necessary. I have heard about surplus labor being the cause of much of our trouble. That matter adjusts itself in States. Some have surplus labor, others have not near as much as they need. If true, why, then, we would see a stampede of three to five thousand farmers going into South-

ern States and distributing themselves, finding good employment, finding what would satisfy them to stay there and live.

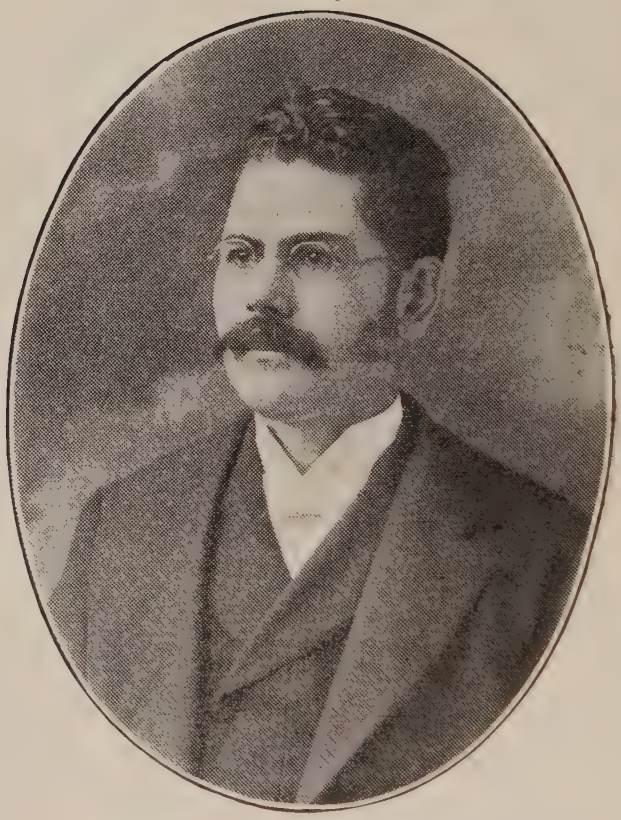
Time for further discussion of this topic was extended fifteen minutes.

REV. HARVEY JOHNSON:

Professor Miller said what is true, that we are confronting a condition, and not a theory. We are not only confronting a condition, but conditions, and a number of them. What I want us to get in our minds is that some of these conditions, and many of them, are not of our making, and as long as they are not of our making, it seems to me that we ought to look for the solution of them by those who made the conditions. In the very first place, that we are colored is not a condition of our making; that we are here in this country is a condition that confronts us and is not a condition of our making. We did not come here by choice, but were brought. Those that brought us here find us here, and if we are troublesome and on their hands it is their fault, and they must settle it. That we are small taxpayers, if we are, is a condition not of our making. Two hundred and fifty years' keeping away our earnings out of our hands has brought about this condition. But are we small taxpayers? I heard it said yesterday that we ought to become producers, and not consumers altogether. It is a great question in my mind which is of the greatest benefit, the producers or the consumers. Suppose the farmer sends out corn and no one buys it, no one consumes it; where would he be? But just as soon as we begin to consume there is an outlet, and I hold that the consumer is more important. He pays the taxes. The manufacturer pays no taxes. The man pays the taxes that buys the produce—what is produced. When there is a house for rent, who pays the taxes? The renter not only pays the taxes, but leaves the owner a surplus to put away to live on. These are the things we want to consider. I think we ought to be honest with ourselves. That there is an uneducated class in this country is a condition not of our making. See the laws that were made to bar us for two hundred and fifty years. We talk about the ignorant voter; why is he ignorant? That our morals are not all that they ought to be is a condition not of our making altogether. That we have a black belt is a condition; we did not make that, either.

REV. STERLING N. BROWN:

I presume we have met here for the purpose of conferring together and of sending forth to the world our honest convictions. If the work of this Conference had ended with the sentiment of yesterday's meeting, and if I thought that sentiment was largely held by the thoughtful people in and outside of the race, I should be discouraged. The thought as then expressed by one of our honored Bishops—encouraging the centralizing of the race into an independent State by government aid and direction is repugnant to the American ideal, and ought to be discountenanced by every loyal American citizen—I cannot see how this question will ever be



REV. STERLING N. BROWN, D. D.,
Pastor, Lincoln Temple Congregational Church, Washington, D. C.,
where the Conference proper was held;
Member, Executive Committee, National Sociological Society.

settled except it is settled right. I do not believe in any thought of segregation, distribution or colonization that does not appeal to manhood. It seems to me that in advocating such a policy we give to the enemy just the advantage he wants.

We are today in the thick of the battle. A crisis is upon us. Shall we show ourselves men worthy of our contention, or at this critical moment exhibit the weakness of "give up," so ready to be attributed to us? The question of taking the Negroes from the South in any large numbers, without their own free will, is not to be seriously considered. Let his going or staying be a matter of choice. Let him go North, East or West, just as any other American would do under like condition. Let it be understood here, now, once and forever, that this Conference of representative men know their place, their rights and possibilities, and that nothing short of the full recognition of American citizenship will satisfy us.

After last night's address by Dr. Mayo I came back with new hope and encouragement. I believe that his hopeful view of the situation is the right one, and that he represents a large type of good people who are at present silent—silent for policy's sake. I would be discouraged if I looked into the North and did not believe this.

The sentiment that should go forth from this Conference is that we shall never yield an iota of anything that pertains to our manhood rights. As to going wholesale into the North or West is as absurd as it would be detrimental. After all, some of the conditions of the North have changed and new sentiment has also in some sense arisen.

The South, for unnumbered reasons, is the home of the American black man. There is his home and there he has, in the old slave master and family, his warm personal friends, and there in time he will surely work out for himself his own best salvation. Let him alone and give him time, a chance and practical sympathy. If we could send into the North some of our best men it might help to reveal to our friends the better possibilities of the race; but send the scum of our people with the view of colonizing them anywhere and you find upon your hands a worse problem than the one now confronting us. Many Northern cities and towns have now a growing colored population of the lowest class of Negroes, and Northern sentiment is unfairly being made from the standard of these people.

It might serve a good purpose for some of our best families to go North if they see any opening for work, but let the colored man, like the white man, make a choice for himself and for what he believes to be for his best interest.

Friends, there is a way to settle this whole question—only one way—and that is to settle it upon the lines of the blessed Book—the old Bible—and it will never be settled in any other way.

PROF. J. MCHENRY JONES:

I have a word to say, and I have been trying to make up my mind whether I agree with Prof. Lawson's idea or Mr. White's idea, and I find myself almost unable to decide what to say. I was thinking of the gentleman who told me that in 1857 he belonged to a debating club in Oberlin,

REV. O. M. WALLER, M. D.,
Rector, St. Luke's P. E. Church, Washington, D. C.;
Chairman, Committee on Civics, National Sociological Society.

Ohio, that used to discuss the question, "whether the Negro would be free in the next hundred years;" sometimes it would be decided in the negative and sometimes in the affirmative. We are moving the race around like a game of checkers, and we are trying to find out where we want to take them. It seems to me there has been a race question here all these years, and there will be one even after the wise men of this Conference have done all they can. It is good to know what we are and where we are, but I think these questions will right themselves some day. The Irish contended for their rights in the English Government and have not got them yet. [Referred to the bill passed recently by which the peasant is getting hold of the soil.] I believe that the people of this country are going to solve these questions and solve them right. I have not lost faith in the North or the South, or in God Almighty. It is not my business to solve the race problem but to do something to solve my problem. I must take an individual stand. I believe that up from the future there will rise some man, like Lincoln, in the past, some God fearing man, who will hold this solution in his fingers, and who will help us to get our place in this great republic. We are going to stay in the North, South, East or West, and do our duty.

Rev. Owen M. Waller, M. D.:

The last speaker referred to the very excellent land bill which has become an act in England for the lasting benefit of the Irish people. I just want to remind that gentleman that whatever the Irish people will receive in the future has come to them and will come to them by agitation. He speaks of their patience. The Irish are alien to that virtue. Yet the gentleman counsels, "Sit down and let us wait; that the people of the North and South will fix everything right." The more quietly we sit down the more will be taken away from us. We know in the church of God that this monster of prejudice has reached the inner sanctuary. It has passed the outer court and has approached the altar of God. It was formerly the policy of the English church throughout the empire that all natives should come into the ministry on a footing with all others. What has taken place in the last few years? People from this country—Bishops, if you please—have gone to England and told the English people that they are making a profound mistake to encourage natives to rise to a plane of equality with them, and the great and powerful body of English ecclesiastics was influenced accordingly. The one way to deal with the Negro, they counseled, was to establish a permanent status of inferiority for him and keep him there. It is a mistake for us to stand still and allow everything to be taken away from us. The South is carrying their propaganda into the North. They send their ablest young men to work on the magazines and newspapers, and it is a fact that in the most exclusive elements of society the very best blood of the South is there pushing this progaganda and successfully seeking to influence the North. Mr. Isaiah Montgomery, of Mississippi, a misguided Negro, stood and pleaded for a certain form of disfranchisement. Time has demonstrated the mistakes and fallacy of his contention. While out of 40,000 colored people only 900 could

possibly be qualified in Richmond, Va., I am unalterably opposed to sitting still without raising my voice against this iniquity. In this city no one believed a few years ago that we should have the degrading Jim-crow car under the dome of the Capitol, but it is here today, and you may consider it in any way you please. It is the purpose of the propaganda of the South to decitizenize our people. If we sit still the day will dawn when we shall be as chattels in this land.

The speaker was greeted with loud applause.

PROF. JONES denied having said that the Negro was to sit still; he did not say that there should be no agitation.

There was a motion to extend the time for this subject still further, but after discussion it was decided to pass to the next topic.

CONSTRUCTIVE POLICIES.

Chapter VII.

Prof. L. P. Moore suggested that some one give setting to the topics to be discussed, and Prof. Miller took up the next topic, "Race Harmony," "Problems of the City Negro," and "Rape and Lynching," proceeding to give direction to the discussions to follow.

[Prof. Booker T. Washington had entered the church while Rev. A. M. Green was speaking, and was greeted with prolonged clapping of hands.]

Prof. Kelly Miller:

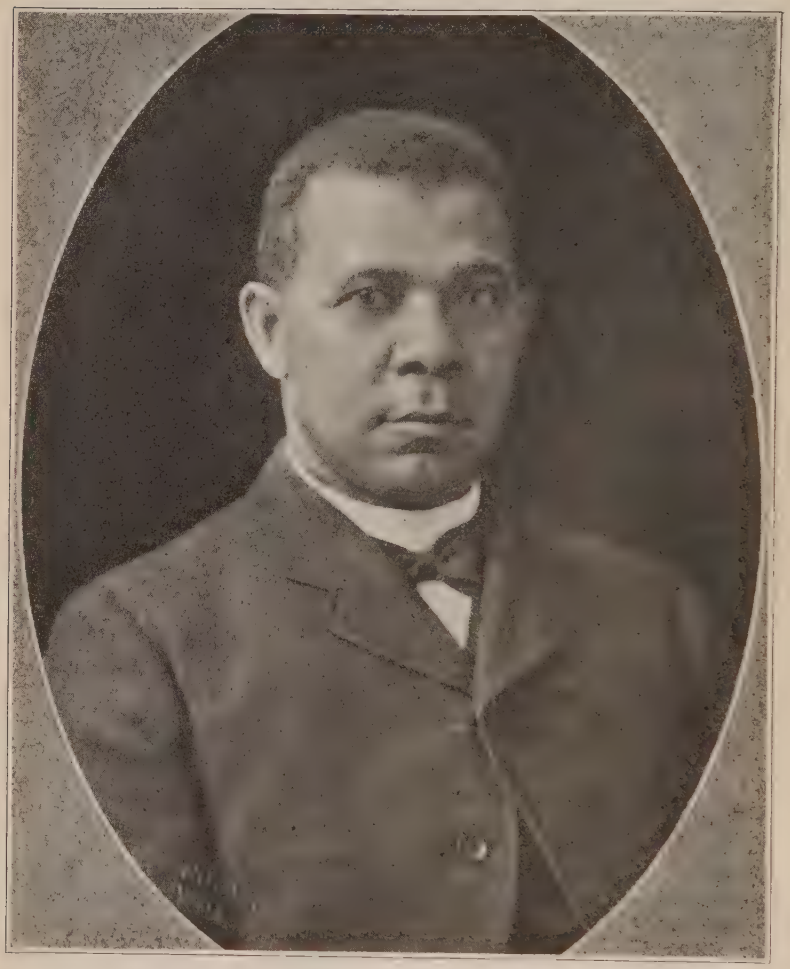
Mr. Chairman: I notice that the great Tuskegeeian, Prof. Booker T. Washington, has entered the house, and I move you that unanimous consent be granted him to speak on any subject agreeable to him.

Consent was granted, and Prof. Washington spoke as follows:

Prof. Booker T. Washington:

My remarks will be very few and very short.

For once I want to have the privilege of listening and not talking. In fact, as I grow older I sometimes have the feeling that if I had listened more and talked less I would have accomplished more work than I have accomplished. I came here at the cost of much precious time, away from many pressing and important duties, and if I do not stay to the finish of your Conference I hope that you will not consider that I am not deeply interested in what you are doing; it will be because I am forced to go away for interests especially pressing us in certain sections of the South. I am very glad that this Conference has been called, and I hope that we will learn more and more, as the years pass by, that no one organization, no one institution, no one individual, can represent all the interests of the race.



BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, A. M., LL. D.,
Principal, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.;
Educator, Orator, Philosopher, Statesman.

We need organizations, both national and local in character, in order that all the issues of the race may be reached and may be emphasized, and I hope that through such an organization as this that the lesson of organization will be more and more emphasized. We are all trying to reach the same end. We may travel, for a time at least, on different lines, but the goal is the same. You can do a certain work in this organization if you follow the suggestions which have been outlined and emphasized in the printed matter concerning it, a work that perhaps no other organization can do. There are three or four others that can do a work that this organization cannot do, and it is only through the various organizations, as I have said, that all sides of race issues can be emphasized and properly represented. That Mr. Lawson, or another, may not belong to all of these organizations should not be taken to indicate that he is not as deeply interested in the problems of those organizations as those in them. I repeat that you have a work to do in this organization that is not being done by any other, and a work that will redound to the great good of the entire race. I am glad that we are getting to the point where we can talk without regard to denomination, without regard to political parties, and discuss our race interests in a large and broad sense, as I see we are doing here this evening.

Now, there are two things that I want to say before I finish. One is that I hope you will always bear in mind that the great body of our people live in the South. There are eight millions and more of us down there, and the problem is there. If you can help us to bear our conditions, I hope you will keep in close touch and sympathy with those who are striving for better conditions right there in the South. There are some who, at all hazards, mean to remain there. If they suffer, they mean to remain there—right there in the heart of the South—as long as the bulk of our people are there. It is comparatively easy for you in these atmospheres to discuss the problem, but do so always with a view

of looking not to your own interests, but to those of the larger masses of our people in the South.

In the discussion of these questions it seems that we should bear in mind that agitation, as one gentleman said a minute ago, should have a very large and important part. That is proper. The condemnation of wrong should always have a very large and important place; the demands for rights withheld should have a large and important place; but a very large place in all of our discussion and in all of our efforts should be given to something that is constructive. Now, some of us live in the section of the country where we hear of these wrongs. We eat them for our breakfast, for our dinner, for our supper. We live on them day in and day out. Some of them we know pretty well. Along with the condemnation I hope that such a thoughtful body as this will turn its attention more and more in the constructive direction. What we can construct, what we can project, is what will bring us relief. I have great hope when I see such an intelligent and conscientious body doing something in this high-reaching and constructive period.

Question—By Rev. Harvey Johnson: I believe what you say, that we must construct; we must do, if we can convince the people who are opposed to us that we can do. Have we not constructed something? Something that is operative. Has that construction effected or accomplished the end in view? Do you note any tendency on the part of the Southern white people to accord you justice on the score of the great, great work that you have accomplished in Alabama, or to accept you and yours and me and mine in this section more than before, because of that construction?

Professor Washington: We have got to do our duty. In a great many cases you have got to wait patiently for results. If we keep on doing our duty, whether we see immediate results or not, the results will take care of themselves.

MR. BANNON, of Virginia:

It strikes me that, instead of a debating club, what is wanted now is a council of war. The enemy is the gigantic illiteracy of both races in the South. He who does not know that that is the greatest question before the American people has studied to little purpose. The attempts so far made to cope with this illiteracy are utterly inadequate. I was associated with Gen. Armstrong at Hampton, and I would say that if we could multiply Tuskegees and Hamptons, and put them in every county in every State of the Union, we would have an adequate system with which to confront this illiteracy.

THE CITY NEGRO.

MR. L. M. HERSHAW:

As to the Negroes in cities, I cannot give specific statistical facts at this time; the facts are that the movement of the Negroes towards cities is growing, but there is also the other fact that the movement of populations towards cities generally is growing, and that this movement of the Negroes is only a part of a general tendency. I think the statistics for the ten-year period from 1890 to 1900 show that the growth of the Negro population in cities has not been as great as the growth of the general population. It is also true that for the ten-year period from 1880 to 1890 that the growth of the Negro population in cities was not as great as the growth of the general population in cities. Thus, taking these facts into consideration, there is nothing abnormal in the presence of Negroes in cities, nothing unnatural; it is simply a part of a general world movement, especially regarding American cities. We were told by Bishop Holsey, however, some reasons for the movement of the colored population toward cities. One of the reasons that led to the flocking of these great masses was the lack of protection in the country, the lack of educational opportunities there, the lack of the payment of honest wages to them. As he described these conditions, I was struck with his intimacy with the facts in the case. There is this other phenomenon connected with the presence of the colored population in the cities; that is the death rate. We cannot make comparisons with the country, for there are no statistics. In Washington here, in New Orleans, Richmond, and other cities, the death rate is about twice that of the white people.

MR. W. P. BURRELL:

[After a discussion as to the nature of the topics as presented by the program, during which the terms "education," "patriotism," "statesmanship," and "philanthropy," were deemed by Mr. Hershaw not to apply to the consideration of the subject in hand.]

I rise just to say that I cannot agree that the program is ridiculous. I think that really with regard to special problems they are all problems in which the Negro is interested. As to whether the Negro can be a good patriot or not, is not black patriotism. Referring to the city Negro, I read somewhere in a paper a complaint that the country had been depopulated not only by the Negroes, but by the whites, because they got the idea that living was cheaper in the cities. In the country districts around

Richmond a large number of the country Negroes had left their homes for the city to work in the various industrial works. In the country they worked for anything they could get to keep the wolf from the door. With the enterprises in the cities the building of railroads, etc., they were offered better wages; they could make $1.50 or $2 cents a day in the country, in the cities, from one to two dollars. Thus they went to make more money. They went to the city bringing others with them. They knew nothing of how to care for themselves. This increased the death rate. They had no one to instruct them as to health. Those in the cities believed in eating cheap food; they cooked it in their own way, gorged themselves, could not employ a doctor, and died. There are a number of things that affect the city Negro along these lines that make it hard for us to properly exercise all our rights of citizenship. We are always trying to send him somewhere where he can get all of his rights. It would be well to teach him to make the most of what he has. *It would be well if we could get the average Negro to realize that his employer has some rights that he ought to respect.*

REV. W. J. HOWARD:

I was born in the country and have used most of my time in missionary work among city Negroes. There are some things that are very discouraging. The Negro needs a great deal of missionary work done for him. He needs to be taught to be true to himself, to take care of his health and morals. We ought not to spare our strength and interest along these lines. Self-responsibility is the great idea. Let us seek to make the Negro think, to make him move upward!

RAPE AND LYNCHINGS.

DR. S. L. CORROTHERS:

I have a letter from a very distinguished gentleman from New York. In the letter he stated to me that he thought it was a bad thing for a so-called class of leading Negroes to meet and discuss the subject of rape and lynching. He states that the white men in the city of Chicago had been guilty of the social crime more than the Negro race in the same length of time in the last year. As to the city Negro, as Dr. Howard says, we must teach him to think. It is because he does think that he leaves the country. I am not in favor of the Negroes coming to the cities. But I have been through Mississippi and North Carolina, and there are conditions where colored men are accused of everything, and no Negro but a fool will stay there when he can get away. The trouble is not with the alley Negro. It is with the Negroes who are educated. The trouble is with us. The alley Negro is happy. It is the spirit in the heart of the South to remove the Negro from positions. Negroes who own a great deal are not respected more than the other man. He is worse off now than he was twenty years ago, with all his schools and churches. The minds of the people in New York are being filled with the thought that the Negro is absolutely worthless. In Ohio there are organized societies to prevent the Negro from coming there.

PROF. GEO. WILLIAM COOK:

No matter how many nails I put into the gate, it is the one that clinches that does the work. There is one nail that I want to clinch. If the facts stated in the letter referred to by Dr. Carrothers are true, I will be one who will go far toward presenting the fact that the men of Chicago have committed that crime as many times as all the Negroes in the South. I want to make the suggestion here that, if it cannot be denied, to make it as broadcast as the fact which proclaims that we are raping the white women in this country. It is being carried all over the world against us. It must be shown that we are not peculiarly so. I make a motion that a committee of three be appointed to search the records.

Prof. Cook's motion was carried and Prof. Geo. Wm. Cook, Dr. S. L. Corrothers, Dr. O. J. W. Scott were appointed to serve on such a committee.

REV. WALTER H. BROOKS, D. D.:

There are certain civic vices and phases of suffering in all American cities. These are not peculiar to the people of any one race, and the questions to which they give rise are not race questions, strictly speaking. Nor has the matter of patriotism and industrialism anything to do peculiarly with the solution of the Negro Problem, since the Negro, from the days of the colonists to the present hour, has given both labor and life for the material prosperity and the political glory of these United States of America. But there is, *so far as accusations go*, something peculiar in the matter of rape and lynching. When a man wants to murder his fellow being he feels that he must furnish some plausible excuse for the perpetration of the bloody deed. The white man usually seeks to justify himself in doing injury to others. The excuse he offered for holding our fathers in slavery was, "The Negro is lazy, and needs a master for his own good." Sometimes he sought his excuse in the Word of God, and told the poor Negro that "God ordained him to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for the white man all the days of his life." When the white man wanted to destroy the work of reconstruction and nullify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States he cried out, "Negro domination and carpet-bag rule," and painted the picture with colors that stirred even the victorious North to pity for the vanquished brother of the South, and Republican rule in the South perished untimely. And now, to complete and perpetuate the work of disfranchisement and that humiliating segregation in all means of public travel, and public accommodation and comfort, the cry of rape is made for almost anything, real or fancied, by which a black man may excite the fears or displeasure of a white woman. I protest that the Negro is not a race of rapists, and that Negroes are lynched, when accused of rape, not because the crime of rape is hated as a public calamity and an offense before God, but because the accused is black. The mob does not punish the crime of rape with fire and hemp when the rapist is white. He is

HON. JUDSON W. LYONS, LL. D.,
Register of the Treasury.
Member, Republican National Committee for the State of Georgia.
Chairman, Committee on Politics, National Sociological Society.

suffered to be exonerated on the score of insanity. The North is flooded with Southern Negroes, who are not all of the better element. Why are they not recognized as rapists in their newly adopted homes?

It is only once in a long while we hear this charge brought against the Negro, in any part of the world, outside of the South.

If all forms of crime charged against the black man of the South were tried in open court, by the constituted authority, and the guilty party, in every instance, legally punished, the world would not associate with the term Negro the wicked crime of rape and thoughts of brutal lynchings.

Of course, there are black rapists and there are white rapists. I rejoice, however, that but few men of this degraded type are found among any people. Whether white or black such men bring upon their own heads terrible judgment, but let that judgment be legally administered by those who have the legal right to act. But let no man say that the crime of rape is peculiar to the black man of the South. Black men have lived with the white people of the South for hundreds of years, and it is strange that only in these days of great political unrest and industrial competition and the Negro's social advancement, that this blighting accusation is brought against us, as a race of people, and the charge is kept ever in the public prints.

But time and God will ultimately vindicate our cause.

HON. JUDSON W. LYONS, Register of the Treasury:

Just one word, Mr. President. I am not a member of your Society, and therefore doubt my right to speak. There are two or three things, however, in connection with the crime of rape which we should direct our attention to. The first is: We should give all our influence and assistance to the punishment of the perpetrators of this crime in the regular and well established way, before the courts, wherever it has been proved to have been committed. And, again, it is alleged by some that people are railroaded to death by the mob upon this charge who are not guilty of it. In all such cases it would be but the part of good citizenship to ferret out the facts, so that if any one shall have fallen victim to the fury of the mob upon this pretense, or for any other, for that matter, the facts might be given to the public and the race relieved from the odium of the supposed crime. It will not avail us to attempt to excuse the commission of this crime, wherever it is committed, by the statement that some other people in a given locality have committed as many of these crimes as have been charged up against the entire race of colored people. Two wrongs do not make one right. I am firmly of the belief that many colored men are sent to their doom upon this charge who are innocent; but let us seek to prove their innocence and not attempt to excuse it by the crime of another.

Again, something has been said by a speaker who has just taken his seat, that the colored man is simply a consumer and not a producer. I desire to most emphatically correct the statement. The facts are just to the contrary. In the production of corn, cotton, wheat, rice and sugar cane the colored man is more than twice as productive as any other agri-

HON. CHRIS. J. PERRY,
Member of the City Council, Philadelphia, Pa.
Editor, Philadelphia "Tribune."
Member, Committee on Politics, National Sociological Society.

cultural class. This very year the cotton exported will amount to a great deal more than one-half the balance of trade in favor of the United States, and four-fifths of that cotton, that balance of trade, will be due to the industry of this much misunderstood and misrepresented man. In this era of prosperity they stand in the vanguard of the brave soldiers of industry, who have carried the name of America and the products of America to the forefront in the markets of the world.

It is a mistake also to suppose that they are naturally indolent and indifferent to work, where it can be obtained. The few thousands we see around the slums of the cities do not make up the more than eight millions of honest toilers of the South; and, I am persuaded that if a healthier system of ordinary justice prevailed in the rural sections, the slum population would be soon reduced, and these people, from choice and preference, would return to the farms—for in many cases they have left the agricultural section of the South because of a lack of that police protection which is a common right of every American.

The leading farmers and business men of the country are beginning to see, I believe, this matter in its true light, and there are vehement protests against the midnight marauder and white cappers, who deprive their lands of the necessary tenantry and deprive them of the profits which come from that tenantry.

HON. CHRISTOPHER J. PERRY:

I am very glad to hear delegates in this convention admit that they are convinced that the Negro is not a rapist. For some years I have, on my own responsibility, said in public print exactly what the gentlemen have said while speaking on this subject. No; gentlemen of the convention, the Negro is not a rapist. We have some criminals among our people, it is true, and yet I am of the opinion that any class of men who find themselves shut out of employment commensurate with their varied tastes will gradually gravitate into idle habits, and, consequently, wrongdoing.

Reverting, however, to the Negro as a rapist, allow me to recite a story which will, in a brief way, demonstrate the reason I have for disbelieving the stories published in newspapers about such cases.

Some weeks ago I picked up the "Evening Bulletin," which is published in Philadelphia. There, on the front page, in large, bold headlines, was printed: "A Burly Negro Attempts Assault on a White Lady in Germantown." The article went on to tell of the attack—of how the Negro attempted first to rob and next to assault the lady in question—of how he had left his finger prints on her snowy white neck, etc. It also stated her name, and said she was the wife of a certain bank official. The next morning I went to my office and telephoned to the bank. Upon receiving an answer, I said it was my desire to speak to Mr. ——. He came to the 'phone. I said: "Is this Mr. ——?" He replied: "Yes." I said: "I am a member of the Committee on Police and Prisons of the Council. Our committee meets this afternoon, and I think I shall urge the question of an increased police force in your ward." He said: "That's what

we need out there." I replied: "Well, I should say so, after reading the story in last night's paper of the shameful treatment your wife received."

The bank official laughed heartily; I could hear him plainly through the phone. I said: "Why, Mr. ——, you seem to take the matter as a huge joke." He replied: "Nothing of the kind ever occurred; that newspaper story was very highly colored." Then he laughed again, and continuing, said: "A little black fellow did attempt to snatch my wife's pocket book. He was a lad apparently twelve or thirteen years old. My wife stamped her foot and said, 'how dare you,' and the little rascal ran."

So, gentlemen, it is plain to my mind that the press in all large cities, with some hidden influence behind it, is trying to do its utmost to arraign public sentiment against the Negro.

As it was now time for adjournment, the announcement was made that the public meeting for Wednesday evening would be held at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, instead of at the Nineteenth-Street Baptist Church, according to program. Meeting adjourned.

REV. DEAN RICHMOND BABBITT, LL. D.,
Rector, Epiphany P. E. Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Chairman of the Permanent Commission on the Race Problem, National Sociological Society.

At the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, Washington, D. C., Tuesday Evening, November 10, 1903.

Music was furnished by the S. Coleridge Taylor Choral Society, 200 voices. Prof. J. T. Layton, director.

Chapter VIII.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RACE PREJUDICE.

By Rev. Dean Richmond Babbitt, LL. D., Rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. President:

Before addressing myself to the subject of the evening I venture to felicitate the members of this Conference on its plan, its racial composition, and the fact of its possibility. It is a remarkable thing, when we look back on American history, that men of the White and Negro races should now be assembled from different parts of the country in the National Capital to consider together, with utmost frankness, good feeling and fair dealing, the mutual welfare of the two races in their thousand and varied relations as Christians and citizens and as *men*. The great world of humanity thus shows progress. The American nation, with all of its sad history and destructive elements of race antagonism, race hatred, of slavery, of brutality, of injustice and blind fury, has at last made it possible that under the shadow of the National Capitol, amid scenes where moved in the past the mighty pleaders for human liberty and human rights—Lincoln, Chase, Julian, Giddings, Sumner—a sable race has so far realized American manhood that its intelligent, well educated representatives stand side by side, without fear of molestation, on the same platform as the white man, to

speak the word, devise the plan, utter the advice which make for peace, harmony and mutual respect.

Such a scene as we witness tonight would have been impossible a generation or two ago, when men, white men, were struck down on the streets of Washington for defending the Negro's rights as a man; when Charles Sumner was laid low beneath the blow of a ruffian's cane in Congress, and my own uncle, Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, then editor and proprietor of the anti-slavery paper, the *National Era*, was surrounded in his home for three days by a howling mob, who demanded his release to them of his property, and the stopping of publication of his paper, because he was exercising, with courtesy, although with firmness, that high gift of the Constitution and of our institutions, the right of free speech in defending the black man.

We may with profit, with hopefulness, with great appreciation of progress in human sympathy and respect for human rights, recall these facts as we are gathered here tonight to discuss the race problem. Race prejudice still exists in virulence, race oppression is still widely and potently abroad in America, but slavery, thank God, is extinct, and in these thanks I think even the great Southland joins; and while the Ku-Klux is a matter of historic crime, and peonage, by the splendid efforts of white judges and lawgivers of the South, has largely disappeared, the Negro as a man, as a brother, as a citizen, amid great persecutions and unmeasured oppressions, is coming to himself, coming to his rights, coming slowly, it may be, but surely coming to racial dignity and self-respect, efficiency, and a proper measure of his power.

Last week, at Rochester, N. Y., after speaking to a theater full of people, Sunday night, on the mobbing and lynching of colored men, I stood by the grave of that mightiest chieftain of his race, Frederick Douglass, who, after a long, struggling life from slavery to the proud place of Marshal of the District of Columbia and United States

Minister to a foreign country, sleeps in Mt. Hope Cemetery, the long great rest of a warrior for humanity. His monument, in bronze, stands just at the entrance to that city, as one leaves the railway, bringing its traveling thousands to that honored grave, with all its associations, that monument erected to his memory, and the modest home on Cedar Hill, yonder across the Potomac, with its well filled library, the political honors he enjoyed, are all typical of the final victory by the colored race in America over prejudice, oppression and wrong.

And so the first word I bring colored men and white men alike, as I speak to you tonight, is not a word of fear, of anxiety, but of courage and cheer; a word of optimism for the colored race passing now through one of the lesser storms of its tragic history, coming to itself, coming to its own. President Roosevelt, in his manly, sympathetic, just and genuinely American treatment of the race, as evidenced by act and word, stands out for the White race in this country, and for the great body of liberty-loving and liberty-respecting Americans, as also typical, like Frederick Douglass was, of the Black race, administering justice, equity and law, not along feudal lines of class privilege or racial lines of color. He is the President of the whole American people, irrespective of their ancestry, whether Irish, German, Scotch, Polish, English, Italian or Negro.

My special subject tonight is

"THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RACE PREJUDICE."

As I am speaking before a popular audience, and not before a scientific body (except as to a number of gentlemen who are taking part in this Conference), my purpose is not to clothe what I have to say in philosophical or technical language, but to state it with simplicity and clearness, that all may know the facts and conclusions which this address attempts to convey.

Now, as to Race-Prejudice.

First as to the *facts* of race-prejudice.

When St. Peter, an early Apostle and a Jew, broke bread with Cornelius, a Roman, and his Roman friends in ancient Palestine, it required a special revelation from Heaven to overcome his prejudice, as a Jew, against the Gentile Romans. He immediately, however, notwithstanding the four-cornered sheet let down from the skies, and its lesson that he was to call no man "common or unclean," got into hot water with his own Jewish race. While religious feelings and sentiments had much to do with that prejudice, race had also much to do with it. When St. Paul shook off his Jewish racial prejudices and became the great Apostle to the Gentiles, he, too, got into hot water and seemed to remain in that racial hot water all his life; died in the odor of Christian charity, and the malodor of racial hatred. The race-hatred against St. Paul was also accentuated, as in the case of St. Peter, by religious prejudice. These two men breaking over the barriers of race, not only are types of Christianity breaking down racial barriers; they are racial martyrs, with the crown of racial martyrdom ever hanging over their big brains and generous hearts. Summarizing the wide past of history, we may say that race prejudice has been one of the most powerful, most beneficent, most malevolent factors in the making of all history; has done much to build up and break down dynasties, to erect and demolish thrones, to create and subvert Parliaments. Race prejudice is a power, an influence, an all-pervading element, which it is impossible entirely to eliminate from any man. It has existed in all degrees, and will doubtless exist in all degrees while the story of human progress toward perfection continues to be made and written.

We are not surprised, then, to find that race-prejudice has played a large *rôle* in American history for nearly three hundred years past, as it has in all other history prior to ours, and in all contemporaneous history. On the largest, most interesting, most dramatic and thrilling of all theaters,

the potent, all-pervasive, all-embracing race-prejudice is exhibiting itself here in America. All races of mankind are here mingled. In the controlling interest in the race-question as to the Negro, we commonly lose sight of the other tremendous race-interests, race-instincts, race-prejudices centered here in America, and the vast engrossing, unlimited race-interests intrusted to the American people. The subject which this Conference has assigned me, reaches far beyond the Negro race in its scope; draws facts, inferences and conclusions which take in Spanish races in Porto Rico, the Filipinos, and hybrid races of the Philippines, the Hawaiians most nearly related to the Cambozan group, and just now we are dealing with Spanish races and mixed races in Panama. It is well, then, for our researches, while largely confining themselves on this subject to the Negro and Anglo-Saxon in this country, not to forget that race-prejudices of all kinds are stalking abroad in this great land of ours, which seems the common meeting-place of mankind, and which God doubtless intends to use, in His Own time and way, to work out one of the most marvellous demonstrations of human brotherhood in one of the grandest and most impressive ways.

The fact of race prejudice we must admit, because it is not only the result of our reading, but it is manifest by our daily observation. We Northern people stood aghast, astonished, perplexed, utterly bewildered, a short time ago, when he who has been made the Chief Executive of our people extended the courtesies which he would have shown to any other distinguished man naturally and as a matter of course, to a celebrated Negro, Booker T. Washington, in the Nation's own White House, which, by Southern race prejudices, was henceforth to be known, judging by the storm of race prejudice the President aroused, as the *White* house *par excellence*, in whose whiteness the poor colored man must have no recognition and no part, however high in character, clean in life, distinguished in service to his

race, and consequently to his country. The incident has become trite, thread-bare, exhausted by constant use of politician, theologian, sociologist and the common masses. Yet it stands to-day as the most revealing flash into the hearts of our Southern citizens, showing the depth, the power, the permanence, the influence of race prejudice.

A Southern clergyman of my own church, an educated man, an editor, said to me that, no matter what President Roosevelt might now do, the South was irrevocably against him, and that he never could atone to the Southern people for the one act of eating with a Negro. That is an interesting scientific, sociological fact. It is of great meaning. It will not injure President Roosevelt in the eyes of mankind, nor in the eyes of a majority of his countrymen, I fancy. But it throws the calcium light of a great fact on this race problem we are discussing, and out of that fact grows a bundle of just inferences: first, that such a prejudice indicates that the old feudalism of the South, built on color, is not dead, I may say with all friendliness to the South; second, that the Negro's life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, which, with all other Americans, he should here enjoy, are not safe in the keeping of the South; third, that political disfranchisement of the Negro is the logical attitude and the uncompromising purpose of the South; fourth, that there is not a business interest, a political interest, a judicial or legal interest, a sociological or industrial interest of the Negroes in the South that is safe for a moment before the hot simoom blast of such a scathing race prejudice. With recognition in the South of many of the fine traits of American character—generosity, hospitality, patriotism, courage—yet in the face of a race prejudice so powerful, so general, so freely and so persistently expressed, uttered, shown, exhibited, even paraded on all possible occasions, in press, in pulpit, in business, in political circles, the South cannot claim any longer, nor can the Negroes permit the claim to be made, nor can the South permit

itself honestly to make it, that its men and women are the best friends of the Afro-Americans. The race prejudice that flows like red lava, the race prejudice that reverberates like thunder-claps over all this continent, on account of a distinguished Negro sitting down to eat with the Chief Magistrate is not to be reasoned with, not to be glossed over, not to be forgotten in any scheme of amelioration for the colored race. It has simply, in the best, the wisest, the most patient, the most Christian way, to be met and overcome. But let no broad scheme of philanthropy, no wide plan of education, no passive waiting for things to turn out well for the Negroes, leave out of its calculation, the depth, the power, the mighty influence of race prejudice in the South against the Negro. This prejudice against the Negro—not only in the South, but also in the North—is one of the most unjust and most hurtful, and is one of the deterrents of race advance that the Negroes have to combat, and has been, and is now full of a tragedy that should awake the sympathy and help of all Christian and humane men and women. It affects the race in the labor field, so that it is not only handicapped in the struggle for mere existence, but is absolutely shut out in many cases from that simplest of all rights, the right to earn one's bread. While white labor has organized itself in many ways, the colored man is allowed to join no white labor union, though he is distinctly the toiler of toilers, and if any one ever deserved the title of "the man with the hoe," he is that man. If the respectable colored man attempts to rent a house in a respectable neighborhood, he is either refused the house or obliged to pay more rent for it. If he travels in the South, the Jim Crow car not only marks the race prejudice against him, but he is often subjected to physical discomforts from which the white man, paying the same fare, is free. If he must eat (and it is in no one else regarded as a crime to eat in the face of this white feudalism), he must not enter a white man's restau-

rant, but must be a perpetual pilgrim on the earth, with his humble wallet on his back or in his pocket.

A bright young clergyman of this city, in a visit to a white brother clergyman of the neighboring State of Maryland, was not allowed, in assisting him in a mission, to lodge beneath the white rector's roof, but was put in an outhouse where some of the rector's furniture was brought; the prejudicial Southern code of ethics being too much for the rector's Christian principles. He could use the service of his colored brother as a missionary, but could not use his New Testament in entertaining him. The color prejudice we find has almost everywhere invaded the Church of God itself, and men and women are responding to suggestions that came not from their higher, but from their lower selves, in banning and banishing the Negro from his place even at the altar of one common Father and one common Saviour.

PSYCHOLOGY OF RACE PREJUDICE.

Now what is the psychology of this race prejudice?

In the first place, we may note that race prejudice is marked in all races, but most marked, and I am not speaking in an uncomplimentary way of the South, in the lower types of mankind. It is seen even in the anthropoid apes.

Secondly, we may safely admit that race prejudice has its home, in the last analysis of the mind, in a race instinct, planted by the Almighty in all races for wise and beneficent purposes and for race conservation and race integrity. Each race, the Anglo-Saxon, the Semitic, the Slavonic, the great families of the Caucasian race, the Negro race, have their own precious endowments, and the racial instinct is given to preserve these. This is elemental, this is natural, this is, I believe, God-implanted. But race instinct, as a natural endowment, along with other of our natural, elemental, primitive, savage endowments, is widely different from race prejudice, as evidenced against the Negro in this country.

MOBS OFTEN THE RESULT OF RACE PREJUDICE.

As a psychological consequence of race prejudice, there has been exhibited in this country, especially in the South, an alarming, striking, terrible effect, showing that it is time for religion, ethics, laws, civilization to step in to control savage and elemental passions, leaping up out of the hearts of men, and even women, to destroy. I refer to MOBS. Now the race mob, the lynching mob, is so frequent, so important, so anarchistic, so threatening to all that is best in American life, that it is well worth study, as a consequence of racial antipathies.

WHAT A MOB IS.

Until recent years, individualism has prevailed so widely in our political and social philosophy that what has been called "undivided crime" was little considered by criminologists, just as "collective sin" had been little studied by the theologians.

The starting point in the consideration of crimes committed by a group, a gang, as, for instance, a band of robbers, or a gang of thieves, has been in the past, until recently, the individual criminal, instead of the social group, band, or gang. For years criminology was ego-centric; it moved from the individual ego, the particular man, woman, boy or girl, as its center. The social side of acts committed by an aggregation of individuals was lost sight of, or seemingly remained undiscovered. When Taine, the Frenchman, drew attention to the psychology of the Jacobins in France, he was entering a comparatively new field. From that study of his to the study of the murderous criminality of mobs is not a long step, and that step has not long been taken.

Fix this, then, in the mind, as fundamental to the subject of mobs and lynchings, that a mob has a mind of its own, which is not the aggregate of the mental acts of its individual members, but is a new mental entity, a new mind, a different mind, both in kind and in degree, from the par-

ticular minds of the members of the mob. Before giving the formula of the mob, however, dwell on the tremendous meaning of social activity, as evidenced even in the acts of isolated and separated members. There is not the most vicious malefactor nor the most beneficent benefactor, not the most desperate criminal nor the most enthusiastic inventor of genius, whose one and every mental act has not its relations to complicity, environment, heredity. Every act of every one of us, though the act be performed in the solitude of the desert under the curtain of midnight, has its social relation to others, near by in time or space or remote in time or space. It is the dictum of science, as well as scripture, that "no man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself." If you will consider the isolated criminal in the dark movement of his fevered mood, and will then take from that criminal all influence of education, of surroundings, of companionship, of the accidents of life, of the influences of heredity, how much have you left? His identity is composite, and while his personality can be established and his responsibility as a moral person is clear, except in cases of insanity, yet his relation to other beings is profoundly social, though he be a single bandit in a cave, brooding robbery and murder, or though he be the lone, ancient mariner, turned pirate, standing among the corpses of the dead, not full of regret and self-reproaches, like Coleridge's famous figure, but conspiring, under a black flag, against yet undiscovered craft.

We are to admit, then, the profoundly social character of single mental acts in even isolated or segregated individuals.

Again, Modern Psychology has clearly demonstrated that the human mind may be divided into the *conscious*, the *sub-conscious*, and the *unconscious*. The sub-conscious, by mental processes, may be elevated into the conscious, but the unconscious may not be so elevated. There is, also, what may be called the *supra-conscious* mind, that lies, so to say, over and above the conscious, the region of conscience, morality,

and the spiritual functions. Ordinarily our views of mind are that it is conscious. But away down deep in us is the unconscious, the region of instinct, the place of primitive, of racial, of hereditary powers, the first elements, so to say, of our being, which, by strange and startling influences, by unclassified intuitions, by unformulated desires and impulses, profoundly influence at times our conscious states. Sometimes this vast primitive tract of our being, stretching below the sub-conscious, is profoundly efficient as the maker, creator, instigator, supporter of moods and caprices. The mind is one, but while the conscious is always illuminated, the unconscious is ever dark and not illuminated, and between the two stretches the realm of the sub-conscious, sometimes in light and sometimes in darkness. With these brief suggestions, in popular language, look at the mind of the mob.

THE MOB MIND.

The mob mind has its birth in the assemblage of a number of individuals. Sometimes there is a purpose for these gatherings; sometimes they are accidental, as in a sudden riot, and especially in summer time; and if, without a definite or particular motive, there be a general political or social oneness of feeling or belief. A word is spoken by some leader; it is repeated and re-repeated, taken up, thrown back, held aloft, emphasized, cheered, all the time gathering intensity by the multiple contact of mind with mind. This is the first stage of the mob. The thought or feeling may be good or bad. It is now becoming a collective thought, a unifying thought, but the mind of the mob is not yet fully developed. It is the mob in process, the mob in the making. It may never come to its separate entity, its own unified, particular mind. It may be halted, turned aside, taken from its thought of goodness and heroism to a purpose of badness and bestiality, only it is not yet far enough along. It is only a "crowd" thus far, not a

mob. It has the oneness of place. It has, possibly, a leader, or a group of leaders; it has one or more thoughts or emotions in common, or at least a oneness of mental condition. The members of the "crowd," and every "crowd" is potentially a mob, may be diverse, various, from many stations in life, of different degrees of intelligence, or of education, or of moral development. When the "crowd," however, goes into the mob-mind, at the next stage, all these differences are lost. College professors, clergymen, men of sedate, scientific pursuits, delicate and tender-hearted women, all with ordered ways of thinking, civilized, humane, yet when welded, at the next stage, into the mob-mind, lose all for which they a few moments before stood, and do acts of which they deemed themselves incapable before their commission under the mob-impulse. Here is the "crowd," a political crowd, an ordinary street crowd gathered by accident, attracted by something, perhaps interesting, perhaps amusing, by a street fakir, by a mountebank, by a political speaker, by a street preacher. It may be a crowd on its way home from the theater, from a concert, from a church service, when suddenly it is arrested, interested, fascinated. The mob ferment begins to work, but the yeast has not yet filled the dough. It is only there in process. Now when the mob-mind, at the next stage, is fully developed, it is by the power of a great human faculty, which has already been at work upon it, viz: *Suggestion.*

One suggestion, say, of the alleged crime of the Negro has partially unified the "crowd," and it is passing into the mob-mind. Another suggestion, contrary, opposite, is made by a leader, and the whole process is switched off, and the mob may die and its history never be written. Or the unifying, organizing suggestion may go on, and the movement may be a French Revolution, a frenzy, a people maddened by wrongs drenching itself in blood, with reeking guillotine, a decimated nobility, even driven by the infuriated women of the Paris populace, fierce and ferocious for the

sight of more headless trunks of dukes, duchesses, statesmen, and all of the old, the favored classes. Or the mob may be the regiment, the military, whose collective achievements of heroism raises each individual morally above himself, and the poet sings its praises in the "Charge of the Six Hundred," or in that of San Juan Hill. Or the crowd-mind may pass from its vast gathering before Peter the Hermit, swayed by one unifying, organized, deeply-imbedded thought, feeling, passion, to move on the infidel of the Holy Land and rescue the Saviour's tomb from the Saracens. But, whatever the thought, object or purpose, given the assemblage, given the one place, the one thought, or the one passion, or the one master-fear, it may be, and under that power of suggestion the mob-mind appears.

What is the difference, then, between the "crowd" and the "mob"? It is this: the difference of suggestibility in the two. The one is only partially and in an unhesitating way, unstable way, the creator of suggestions; that is the "crowd." The other, the mob-mind, is developed when the suggestion has free play, runs and is glorified in its very excesses, be they heroic or bestial.

Now, look at the conditions favorable to the development of the mob-mind. The first and most powerful factor is that which breaks up the social consciousnesses, disintegrates them and unifies them into a new, central, dominating consciousness, which is at unity no longer with the individuals of the crowd, but which is at unity only with itself.

What, would you say, gives you the strangest sense of your individuality? Is it not your voluntary movement? It is a philosophical truth that the individual self grows and expands, as Dr. Boris Sidis well says in his work on the "Psychology of Suggestion," with the increase of variety and intensity of voluntary activity. On the contrary, the life of the individual self sinks, shrinks and withers with the decrease of variety and intensity of voluntary move-

ments. Bring about in a crowd a narrowed field of consciousness. Let men be in one spot, a narrow street, and be pressed together; or let the crowd be large, in a field where all the inner circles are pressed on each other; or let the crowd be a great crowd, a vast crowd, drawn, some of them, by sinister purposes, as at Wilmington, Delaware; some as mere curiosity seekers, as is generally the case when the crowd becomes the mob. The cramped movements limit the free play of personality. Men feel closed in upon, fettered, uneasy. The very numbers of the crowd crush out the free sense of individuality. We all have felt that crushing out of individuality in a crowd. Then the sense of something going to happen, a kind of doom hanging over the crowd, occurs. I addressed lately ten thousand persons in the Exposition Building at Philadelphia. I can bear evidence to that feeling, although a speaker above the crowd can never have the same degree of suppressed feeling of the individual as those in the mass. Here, then, is a condition of abnormal sensibility to suggestion. What is required for the mob? Only an interesting object, or some vivid, impelling, imperative impression to fix its attention and to plunge it into that unified, organized state, in which the individual members, shorn of their walking, moving personality, fettered by physical contact of numbers, in bondage to the mental image of numbers, gives way to the sub-waking, sub-conscious self, into which the primitive, the savage, the hereditary, the instinctive, the impulsive, the dark, unconscious self now pours its vast, fundamental elements of being; the overstrained attention, the suspended breath with which the crowd now hangs on, the every act of its leader, the master-mobbist, the lyncher, the wrapt awe, the putting away of all disturbing influences, the fearful silence in which the buzzing of a fly can be heard. The crowd is entranced; and now the one suggestion spreads like a prairie fire. It goes from mind to mind, from eye to eye.

The clenched hands, the contorted faces, show the growing interest. Now a visual image helps on the suggestion. It may be a blood-stained bunch of leaves gathered at the place where the Negro ravisher, White, committed his fiendish crime at Wilmington, Delaware. Those leaves are waved aloft by a lynching parson on a Sunday night, to 2,500 people. That makes the mind of the mob deeper in its intent, but this leader is only a leader of words, a maker of mob images. He goes not farther, and yet his work endures. The true mob-leader, the genuine executant, appears the next night to take the fruitage of the preacher's suggestion. One day has not cooled the passion or sunk down to darkness yet the primitive, unconscious savagery. It comes up again. Rumor flies thick and fast. The leader or leaders again appear, first of one group, then of another. They combine. One leader masters others. This instinctive savage who is strongest in passion, most easily swayed by his base under-self, is the master-mobbist. "On to the work-house," as in the Wilmington mob, is his cry. Again the mob gathers. A score of little mobs in the form of groups, each with its minor leader, has been ripening. Now they concentrate, they plan. One idea, one thought, one passion, one purpose, to get at White, the Negro ravisher, is dominant. That is the all-controlling suggestion, now working with fearful power. The mob mind is full, the rest is but acts of vengeance and murder, the over-riding of the law, the burning and dismembering of a brute, the taking of his thumbs, fingers, bones, toes, for ghastly souvenirs, even by tender women.

Now, this is the monster the American public must deal with henceforth, in a vigorous, quick, short, decisive way; or law, order, American prestige, American institutions, and the very foundations of American society and American government will be overturned, and the fair fabric of patriotism, of civilization, of freedom under constitutional guarantees, will be annihilated.

I have traced in popular and untechnical language the method of growth, the genesis of the mob in general, whether in America or elsewhere. But the danger, the extreme peril of the mob, is upon us now in America, and that danger will deepen and widen as the years go by. No one can properly estimate that danger until he begins to study the peculiar conditions of American life, and bears in mind the peculiarities of American society and American institutions.

THE MOB AND THE RACE-PROBLEM.

First we have a great race-problem, different in kind and the conditions which qualify it from any race problem in any other country. No such racial conditions as exist in this land can be found anywhere else on this globe.

Briefly review the history of the conditions that have made this great, persistent and important race-problem in America, and then note the relations of the Negro race to the White race as making for race prejudice in its thousand Protean shapes.

There have been two grand stages of advance of liberty in this country. The first, when the Declaration of Independence made, in 1776, America free from foreign oppression. The second, when the pen of Abraham Lincoln, by the Emancipation Proclamation, set four million slaves free in 1863. The latter has been called almost the "Coronation of humanity." The Negro was set free physically. He was given his moral liberty. A great appeal was made to his innate sense of manhood. He was declared a man—not a thing, not a chattel—by the great, powerful and generous American people. I shall not arraign the South now for invading later the Negro's rights. I shall not at this time go into any of the side issues of the great act of emancipation. I am very glad to recognize what humanizing processes were applied by our Southern citizens for bringing a barbarous race in the course of several centuries to civiliza-

tion. But even back of these two great starting points of liberty—the Declaration of Independence and the Proclamation of Emancipation—we must go to find the roots of the race problem, in which race prejudice is so profound and influential a factor.

AMERICA BELONGS TO THE NEGRO IN PART BY OCCUPANCY.

In point of native occupancy of this land, if the Indian is not the true American, he is at least the aboriginal American; and if the white man be the American—if occupancy, tilling the soil, length of industry in this land has aught to do with American rights, American citizenship, American nationality—then the Negro has an equal right to exist here with the white man, and to be protected by the laws of America. Two ships long ago came to this land with colonists—one the *Mayflower*, in 1620, bearing our Pilgrim forefathers, of whom Thomas Rogers, the eighteenth to sign the *Mayflower* "compact," I may name as my own ancestor, giving me at least the shadow of a right to speak for the Puritan conscience and for the Puritan religion, which helped so much human liberty in this land. The other ship came a year earlier, in 1619, and held in her hold a number of black slaves, captured, imprisoned, kidnapped, borne away from their native land to this country, whose descendants have ever blessed or cursed the South, as they have been treated as human beings or as chattels and things. They were brought here against their will, they were imbruted, they were denied the opportunities which the most sodden and illiterate of other lands enjoyed. Nearly three centuries of wrongs rise now, and will continue to rise, to plague, harass, curse, humiliate, disgrace the American people till God's right and God's justice, by American white men, shall clothe the Negro with the privilege to exist, work, learn, advance, to have fair play, to enter open doors of opportunity, and to be what God in-

tended all men to be—men wrought in the image of Himself.

In the face of the terrible facts of history of the Negro race in America, in face of tremendous responsibility of the white man for his presence here, for his sufferings, for his wrongs, for the dark tragedy of his fate, there are men like Mr. John Temple Graves, of Georgia, who practically say, that because the Negro has been a slave, and because he wears a black skin, the door of American opportunity shall be shut in the face of ten millions of the race, and that when the black man commits the same crime as the white man, he shall not have the protection of the white man's law. Nay, more, Mr. Graves, and men of his ultra school of thought on the race problem, say, in substance, often in formal words, that because a few of the Negroes commit grave crimes, that barbaric and inexcusable form of murder, called lynching, shall be the common punishment, in the hands of maddened mobs, of members of the Negro race, and that lynching has come to stay in the South.

To deepen the prejudice against a race held formerly in slavery, and on whom the vilest and most brutal of wrongs were committed, these gentlemen venture on a luridness of rhetoric and a wildness of logic that puts them seemingly, for the time being, beyond the pale of political or sociological, not to say ethical, reasoning.

HAS LYNCHING COME TO STAY?

Is it true, as this new school of hate-breeders say, that lynching has come to stay in the South? Is it true, as they would have you believe, that "the mob is the bulwark of society"? Is it true that the lynchings, even in the South, are caused by the crime against the pure and lofty womanhood of the South, and not, also, by the crime of murder, of horse stealing, or of insults to white men and by many minor, almost petty offenses? I yield to no man, South or North, East or West, in reverence for Amer-

ican womanhood. American men do not have to live south of Mason and Dixon's line to hold in highest esteem and to reverence with undeviating loyalty and devotion the sex to which belong their mothers, their wives, their sisters, their sweethearts. That devotion, that loyalty, may not effervesce into the sentiments expressed always with the choice and poetical elegances of rhetoric for which our delightful Southern orators have ever been noted. The Northern man may not sing ballads to the Northern woman's eyebrow. But nevertheless there is in his loyalty, if not so much expression, yet as much of moral fiber, of a conscience that fires to constancy, of convictions as to woman's loftiness and purity, which makes the Northern man the peer of any man as woman's admirer, adorer and protector. Adapting the lines of Oliver Wendell Holmes, and making them refer to these differences as to Southern and Northern laudation of womanhood, and with special reference to these orators of the South, we may say:

> "See the warm speaker of the plastic South,
> How all his passions play about his mouth;
> With us the feature that transmits the soul,
> A frozen, passive, palsied breathing hole."

TRUE AND FALSE CHIVALRY.

There is a true and there is a false chivalry with regard to womanhood. Woman was once, in the days of historic chivalry, when joust and tournament were the order of the day, the toy and the plaything of man, or she was banished to the nunnery and made to climb the cloistral stairs toward heaven as her only vocation. Her choice was to hang from a two-story casement and listen by moonlight to the strains of a guitar, and poetic ditties on her liquid eyes, or betake herself to the veil and the nun's hood and everlasting penance. She led a sheltered life, not such as now, when, North and South, she is out in the jostle of the world, often meeting man and man's circumstances face to face, girdled

with the dangers to her sex, using liberty, "that precious thing," as Montesquieu calls it, with the perils incident to liberty. This is peculiarly so in the North. It is largely so in the South. Woman is not less, but more, a woman for this, having less poetry but more freedom, having less protection of circumstances but more use of circumstances. Now while today on the part of all worthy men, whether North or South, and as much in the North as in the South, woman is respected, honored and reverenced, the very circumstances of this work-a-day world, with woman's enlarged opportunities and freedom of coming and going, the factory life, the store life, the life of teacher and pupil, the engagement in thousands of occupations unknown to former days, all this exposes her, as never before, to dangers known from primeval times as those of her sex. This, with the added population, black and white, to our country, the blacks having increased from January 1, 1863, the time of going into effect of the emancipation proclamation, from four millions to nearly ten millions; the whites, from every country in the world, from forty to eighty millions, including a proportion of passionate and unworthy men of both races, will account, to a degree, for the crime against womanhood.

But it is not a fact that the Negro race, as a race, is going backward, as the new hate-breeders say. It is not a fact that the crime of rape belongs distinctively to this black race. It is not a fact that the black criminal as well as the white criminal, who is guilty of the awful crime of rape (and I would not diminish the public estimate of the awfulness of that crime by one hair-breadth), cannot be controlled by American law and American courts without a mutilation which notes a return to barbarism, or a forcible exile of the Negro race from America, in behalf of a white feudalism which fell in this America of ours, thank God, with the fall of black slavery. Nor, I may be permitted to say, still with a courtesy which, especially here in the North, tolerates the utmost freedom of expression of any orator from the South,

however objectionable his sentiments may be to the Northern conscience and the Northern sense of justice, do I believe that it is an act of chivalry, even to womanhood, outraged in its fairest jewel, to cry in her name, hate, persecution and lynching, death by murder. I say murder, for so it is murder in the eyes of the law of the United States, murder, in the eye of all good morals—to cry murder, or to add in her name torture to murder, and think by so doing woman is put higher on her queenly throne of lofty, noble and virtuous womanhood. Woman's virtue does not have to be supported in America by murder, her honor need not be secured by torture. Her good name does not call to its protection efforts of mobs to roast human flesh in its behalf. Woman's purity does not demand the thumb or toe of a burned Negro to be carried as a souvenir and reminder of its stainlessness. Where is the woman who asks this? Tell me of the tender woman that croons over the cradle or sings lullabys, and wishes to glut a morbid desire by seeing a Negro roast by a slow fire at a stake. Show me the woman who, for protection of womanhood, longs to feast her eyes on the Negro rapist hung to a telegraph pole, and riddled with bullets—

> "O woman! in our hours of ease,
> Uncertain, coy, and hard to please;
> When pain and anguish wring the brow,
> A ministering angel thou."

And yet it is implied that this ministering angel—the white woman who nursed the dying soldier on northern and southern battlefield, who took his last words from his dying cot in the hospital to mother, father, sister, brother; the white woman, too, who has gone to the ignorant and illiterate black belt of the South, for which neither she nor her section were responsible, there to establish schools for the Negro; the white woman who has been the Negro's missionary in this and other lands, not to carry the gospel of hate and murder, of race prejudice, but of the glad tid-

ings of a Saviour of love, and the white woman of the North, mind you, as well as of the South, for a chivalry based on murderous lynching is supposed to have developed a new reverence for woman in the North, the white woman—is to be the cause of riotous mobs bent on racial extinction; woman's purity is to be the banner under which lynchers march, and by an appeal to and for womanhood the new "bulwark of American society," the mob, is to be established! O woman, in thy pure, lofty and honored name, how many crimes are masked; how many shameful deeds are done, and yet without thy consent or thy approval!

TREATMENT OF NEGRO WOMANHOOD.

But there is another kind of American womanhood for whose honor I have often eagerly listened as to some word or suggestion, the black womanhood of the South. The treatment of black women in the South by low whites has widened the chasm between the races. I have not learned from our courteous Southern orators of any lynchings on her behalf or of suggestions for her protection. We learn that four million mulattoes of the ten million Negroes, people this country. Whence came they? Who tanned the black man and woman yellow? Whence the crime against black womanhood? Have there been any lynchings in the South for black womanhood, who is also mother, daughter and sweetheart, though all under a black skin? Have there been any lynchings for the black woman outraged? Yes; I believe there have been many, but indirectly, for the black man, maddened, bestial as he was in his awful crime of rape on white womanhood, has felt, rather than argued, that he was excused, though he was not, for his dreadful deed by the white man's assault on the women of his race, and he has taken the risk of lynching, condoned his unpardonable deed, and gone to the stake or the hanging with the feeling that anyhow a reprisal has been made. One way to diminish lynchings of low blacks for rape in the

South, is to protect black womanhood from outrage by low whites in the South.

THE NEW SCHOOL OF HATE-BREEDERS.

And so I must venture to decline to accept the new school of hate-breeders as representing the New South, the South of advancing education, of industrial development, of growing prosperity and respect for human rights. But I prefer to take Judge Jones, of Alabama, a Southern man, once the Governor of his State, now a United States judge in his State, as a true representative of the best South, when he punishes Southerners, guilty of assaults on the black man's rights, stamps out peonage, the new slavery, by the strong arm of the judiciary of a Government that knows no North or South, or black or white, when weighing human rights by the scales, purifies his State from stain of injustice, the South from dishonor and stands as the embodiment of that true chivalry which ever protects the weak and the helpless.

THE NEGRO WILL NOT BE EXPATRIATED AGAIN.

I venture further to say that the new school of hate-breeders do not represent the sober, enlightened, humane South when they argue for the expatriation of the Negro race from a country in which they have been as long as the white man. The intelligent, educated, industrial South needs the black man; the black man needs the South; he will not be driven from his own land, and the white race will continue to be increasingly his friend, his tutor, guide, and the uplifter of his sable countenance. The white man, for a comparatively few rapists out of ten millions of Negroes, will not expatriate the Negro.

GENERAL ASPECTS OF LYNCHING.

And now turn to the more general aspects of this great subject of lynchings and mobs. We all know how widely the mob spirit prevails in America today. While a man-

ber of lynchings follow strictly the color line, and, in the strong yet accurate language of Professor James, of Harvard, "a Negro needs but to be accused to make him the sport of the mob as long as the fun will last," yet lynching, started in the South on the color line for rape, has leaped that color line and has gone beyond the offense of rape to include murder as its chief excuse, then from that heinous crime shading down to minor offenses, and even to petty faults and ill-based suspicions, lynchings of whites and blacks have been made frequent. But lynchings and mobs have been so numerous, so various, so different in origin and object, that we must seek, in addition to mental and moral contagion, other originating causes, as desire of excitement, the wish to break the monotony of idle and lawless lives, and that homicidal impulse that so strongly lies down deep even in hearts and lives on which civilization and religion have piled layer on layer of custom, ethics, advanced conception of human rights and the beautiful humanities of modern days.

But the profoundest and most influential cause of the lynching of Negroes by whites, is to be found in the bitter, persistent, undying, race-prejudice, starting from powerful race instincts which have been distorted by centuries of brutal slavery on the one hand and un-American absolutism and white feudalism on the other hand. And this race-prejudice has furthermore been accentuated by the marvellous advancement of the Negro race in education and intelligence and especially by his endowment with political rights.

GEOGRAPHY AND RACE PREJUDICE.

The striking phenomena of race hatred, the widening chasm between the whites and the blacks, are not exhibited exclusively in any one section of our country. The birth of liberty in the Negro was a large step in his advance, but it involved him in perils manifold. His liberty was no exception to the general law that vigilance is the lasting price

of liberty. While Negro liberty was of vast value and a result of the great, potent, interesting Act of Emancipation, it could not change immediately the character nor the environment of the Negro. Fiat liberty no more than "fiat money" is free from dangers.

No one who has not deeply studied that peculiar period in American history known as the "Reconstruction Period" can properly appreciate the dangers that beset the newly-freed slaves on the disbanding of the Confederate armies. Re-enslavement of the Negroes was not only openly advocated in the South, but in places attempted murder, pillage, mutilation, a thousand forms of persecution, were set in motion against the freedman. This was partly owing to the devastated and chaotic condition of the Southern States, where semblance of law could, for a time, be maintained only by the strong arm of the Federal military; partly in result of inveterate and deeply-imbedded race-prejudice. It was a situation to be met in some way, and the Federal Government attempted to meet it, in part, by protecting the Negro with the gift of suffrage. The South has its "Iliad of woes" to recite as the result of the constitutional amendments and the gift of the electoral franchise, but it seemed wise to the North—nay, it seemed just and proper—and the North is not to be condemned for these measures, in view of all the circumstances, to throw as ample protection as possible around the Negro, who had, without any act of his own, become the ward of the Nation. Should he, the innocent cause of the war, be made the chief victim of the war? Should Southern hatred harness itself to unending slaughter of the black man? Granted that the amendments had their perils. So have all remedies that apply themselves to revolutionary conditions of society, and all such measures are imperfect. The black man, then, was given his liberty; he was given more than his liberty—he was given the suffrage. He was endowed when unfitted for it, and yet, as a measure of protection, with the full

rights of American citizenship. In the fullness of his civic rights he was advanced beyond our wives and daughters. He could help to elect Legislatures and to make Congresses. He might vote for President and all other officers of the Republic.

I shall not go into a consideration of the ultimate wisdom or unwisdom of the amendments. They were protective measures for the Negroes, and given, we must also believe, to redress centuries of wrongs. They were also seemingly necessary. Yet they surrounded the Republic and surrounded the Negroes with dangers that were apparently unavoidable. We are just now concerned with only one main line of study, race prejudice, and these amendments of the Constitution were in the last analysis made necessary by the passionate race-prejudice of the South. These amendments are still necessary to meet that same race-prejudice. The Negro, unprotected by the national laws, is doomed to forced retrogression.

There is also, on the other hand, a provocative to race-prejudice in the very equality of the Negro before the law. This is largely peculiar to the South. The movement of the nation's mind, North and South, is widely different from this cause. In the South, which is deeply political, and where, so to say, every man is a politician, the gift of suffrage and the protection of the civil rights of the Negro are regarded as putting him on the plane of social equality, the thought of which makes volcanic eruptions of race-prejudice. In the North this is not so. Political equality in the North does not imply social equality. The latter is determined by the individual himself and not by law. The North has deep race prejudice against the Negro, which is also unreasoning, but part of it is due to the fact that the North holds strongly to race purity and race integrity as best for whites and blacks, and leaves a man's drawing-room or dining-room to be controlled by himself and not by public sentiment.

In the North, as I have suggested, there is a deep race-prejudice against the Negro. This is the more shameful and humiliating to all genuine lovers of American liberty and justice because the North has been the cradle of the black man's liberty. From the North, starting with the grand, persistent, suffering, long-ostracized band of Abolitionists, went out the influences and forces that set the Negro free. And yet here in the North there has been developing in recent years a fierce race hatred of the Negro, which sets all sense of liberty, law, order, decency and Christian sentiment at defiance, and shows in the most cultivated, wealthy and socially advanced parts of our country a cruelty and barbarity befitting the illiteracy and passions of the Dark Ages.

It was but several years ago that a great mob of roughs, under the very protection of the police forces, in my own city of Greater New York, set upon defenceless and respectable colored people going to and from their work, for no other reason but that they wore a black skin and belonged to a hated race. That feeling of race hatred against these poor colored people may flame up again at almost any moment and on little provocation. And yet it must ever be borne in mind that to play the baleful flames of this race-hatred against the humble folk is to attack the foundations of American liberty, law, order and justice. They are now a free people. They have all the rights of American citizens. They are, with only the exceptions that their environment, history and brutal treatment by the whites for two centuries before the emancipation will account for, industrious, intelligent and law-abiding. As a race their advancement in forty years is a marvel of the age. No particular offences, beyond those committed by the class that persecutes them, can be charged to them. They simply have black skins and are a different race from our own.

Let us call down shame on our intelligent, well-educated North for this deep, widely-extended race prejudice, more

and more cropping out in our great Northland of liberty and advancement, showing a rancor, a persecution, a cruelty, a diabolical attempt even at torture, of the Negro, because he is black, has been held in bondage by the whites, and belongs to an alien race.

CONDUCING CAUSES OF CRUELTY AGAINST NEGROES.

In the consideration of race prejudice as evidenced in cruelty and persecution, I am not saying that it is not related to some general causes and conditions in American life irrespective of the "color line." But it is "color" and "race" that provoke these general causes and utilize these general conditions for the accomplishment of cruel and fiendish results. There has been a cheapening of human life among us, occasioned by great growth of population, by the factory system, by industrial methods that make man a mere cog in a wheel, by the demands of rapid transit, with all of nature's quick responsive forces put into harness. There has been a growth of cruelty from our two wars—the Civil War and the War with Spain. There has been an intensifying of the struggle for existence, by the operation of great social and industrial causes, which have made a child's life, according to a New Jersey judge, worth only a dollar. All these causes and conditions have helped to create a situation of peril, in a general way, for the Negro race in America. But it is distinctly as black people of an alien race that these causes and conditions work against the Negro race more than against our native White race or against our immigrants.

All through the North these symptoms of cruelty, persecution and malicious prejudice seem to be working against the Negro race. From Maine to Washington, from Minnesota to the old line of the Missouri Compromise, North of which freedom had consecrated the soil from slave labor, are seen these phenomena of race-hatred against the colored people. If the Negro commits the same fault or crime as

the white man in New York, Indiana, Illinois, or the State of Washington, he is visited with more than the white man's punishment, and a punishment imposed without measure, standard, sense, decency, justice, at the hands of Judge Lynch. It may almost be said now that for certain grave offences the Negro has but one judge, and that judge is Judge Lynch. Is this our boasted American civilization? Is this the liberty-loving North that gave the black man freedom? Ah! Freedom has lately been taking a backward step in the North as well as in the South, where the rights, privileges, security, happiness and welfare of the poor, humble colored people are concerned.

I defend no kind of fault or crime by the Negroes. But law is law, or should be, for a black man as for a white man, especially in liberty-loving and liberty-making America. These are the *facts* of race-prejudice in the North. They must be admitted by all *candid* observers, and are beyond contradiction. What are the causes, other than those general causes which have been mentioned, for the renaissance of that gospel of hate found in the South just after the war, but little to be expected in the North? One reason is the expansion of the South and the apparent ubiquity of its writers, speakers, politicians, and the emigration of large parts of its population to parts of the North, with that fiery habit of denunciation and unreasoning prejudice which characterizes the Southern temperament. Just now there is a deliberate and seemingly well-articulated literary and political propagandism in the South—a rebirth of Southern enthusiasm, a recrudescence of States' Rights—and a long array of speakers, writers and legislators—some honest haters, some political schemers, some rabid partisans, but all Southern, and all wildly prejudiced against the Negro. The old South is changing. The middle and more lowly classes are taking the reins of the Southern fire-chariot; the old and gracious humanities and civilities of the aristocracy have given way to the new commercial, industrial, mercantile,

forming, middle and lower classes, where rabid passions, hot and blasting race feelings show themselves. As the Americanism of the North has changed by the hybrid character of its immigration from foreign lands, so the Americanism of the South has changed by the rise of its middle white class, who are much less the friends of the Negro than the old Southern aristocrats. The young clerk, the young lawyer, the teacher, the merchant, has come North. The Southern writers, many of great literary ability, are now in the Northern cities, and all are a unit in opposing the Negro. They deliberately, systematically, persistently, and, I may say, profoundly, influence the new North against the Negro.

But again, the Negro's advancement, both North and South, his increase in education, in general ability to take care of himself, his competition with the white man in the labor field, all these have accentuated against him the hatred of the whites, who, dividing off on the deep sociological principle, so ably set forth in Giddings' "Principles of Sociology," that like attracts and unlike repels, found in the color and race of the black man the conditions antipodal to their own color and race.

Again, in the North as in the South, the enfranchisement of the Negro and his identification with one political party have arrayed against him the deep political animosities of the other political half of the country, and when one-half of the American people are thus politically critical and hostile to another half of the American people the poor Negro comes between them as a buffer, with all the poignant experiences of "buffing." The political passions of one-half of the people, working on even a dormant race instinct, and whetted to an edge by marked differences in color of the races, will account for a great deal of the race-prejudice North and South. And yet it would seem that as the Democratic party, North and South, is pitilessly against the Negro he can look for security only to that political party by whose power and influence he was set free and endowed with the

franchise in order to protect himself. But even here the potency of race-prejudice is powerfully exhibited among the quondam political friends of the Negro, for since the war with Spain other dark-skinned and illiterate races have complicated the Race Problem in America. If the Negro shall be maintained in the face of growing prejudice, North and South, in his political and civil rights under the amendments to the Constitution what must be the political status of the millions of Filipinos and other races which we have recently taken under our protection? Yet a conclusive argument still, in the face of these facts, favors the political and civil rights of the Negro, viz: he is an American, belongs to this country, has helped to make this country, has already been given rights which now cannot properly be taken from him, except as such equal rights be taken under like conditions from his fellow white man.

When we leave North and go to the South, to study this great and pressing race problem, as it has been my privilege personally to do, and in the life among Negroes and whites to try to ascertain the conditions, analyze the facts and arrive at wise and just conclusions, one is met on the very threshold of his studies by a solid Chinese wall of race-prejudice. In many places in the South the treatment of the Negro with no other basis for that treatment than deep-seated, uneradicable race hatred, is cruel, wicked and un-Christian in the extreme. There are many exceptions and noble examples of humane and sympathetic relations on the part of Southern people, some of which I have already pointed out. But peonage, now a well-established fact, mob violence, which cannot be gainsaid, lawlessness unmeasured, ferocity unbridled, are there exhibited, and without a single exception as to any Southern States, the Negro has been shamefully maltreated, and is being so maltreated to-day. It has remained for the South to set an example of cruelty and ferocity which lifts mediaeval barbarism into respectability and gives the Spanish inquisition comparative standing

room in ethics. The lynching bees, where gay Southern ladies, some of high intelligence and respectability, as for instance, once in Georgia, who take special trains to the burning of a Negro as other ladies do to the opera; the laugh, the joke, the jeer as politicians, their escorts, go to see a Negro baited; the tearing of the Negro brute to pieces, limb from limb, the roasting of him alive, and the echoing answer of a jubilant "hurrah!" to the cry of his agony; the ghoulish, fiendish, unlimited savagery which carries away his bones for souvenirs, all this stamps these Southern perpetrators with an endless shame, and American civilization and Christianity with mockery and travesty. All this can be traced to that deep-seated, passionate, unreasonable Southern race-prejudice, which in recent cases, leads the calm observer to surmise a reversion in the South to barbarism. When one great section of our country gives itself over substantially as a unit to oppress millions of American citizens, when law is set aside in that oppression, when no judicial process is used, when passionate mobs take the place of civil procedure, and measureless cruelty usurps the place of pity, then distinctively this treatment from race-prejudice goes beyond the academic, goes beyond the realm of psychological or sociological study and becomes a National Problem and a National Duty.

REMEDIES FOR RACE PREJUDICE.

The American student of any problem, by constitutional tendencies, seeks the factors that may assist in solving it, and leaves his subject not simply as a philosophical thesis, but as a practical counsel. Though going beyond the strict subject of "The Psychology of Race Prejudice," I venture to intimate the conclusions to which this address gives rise, and to suggest, not a panacea, but helpful agencies for the cure of race prejudice:

1st. The great power of education should be evoked by a national education bill, for the poor whites and blacks

alike, of the South, so that this great and comparatively illiterate region of our country be made to come under the broadening and at the same time humanizing, and consequently fraternizing, uplift of education. Ignorance, if not the mother, is the step-mother, of prejudice and intolerance.

2d. The burden that rests with peculiar weight upon the South, because of the numerous communities congested with blacks, should be partially lifted by persuasive, charitable and philanthropic efforts to distribute these populations throughout the country, and thus provide that the Nation as a whole deal at shorter range with a problem which is a national problem. The relief of the South from such numbers of illiterate blacks as would make Negro dominance possible would have a tendency to lessen the racial antipathy of the whites there to the blacks, and to make more comfortable and progressive both the Negroes that would remain there and the Negroes that would depart to the more socially and politically wholesome regions of the North.

3d. The putting of the emphasis, both North and South, in the endeavor to uplift the Negro race, on character rather than on intellectual achievements, though not neglecting the latter. It is the moral and spiritual virility of the race that must make for the true and lasting destruction of race antipathies, lessen crime and develop progress. Goodness shines by its own light, even through a black skin.

4th. The just, equitable and unfaltering administration of the laws to white and black alike, the crushing out of the mobs and lynchings, and consequently the cutting of a taproot whose poison runs rank and pestilential through the whole body of the Republic. A prejudice that runs to riot and lawlessness needs the law with an iron grip to curb and control it, and the smiting of it by the high sanction of the law, when it goes to violent excesses, is a speedy method of diminishing its destructiveness.

5th. The application of the humane principles of Christianity by the Christian whites all over the country, and in a pronounced and aggressive way, in order to meet the propaganda of hatred so articulately arranged and so effectively applied by the Negro's enemies.

6th. The earnest effort on the part of the Negro race to bring its offenders to speedy justice by their own co-operation with the whites, and the development among themselves of a race pride that will protect itself by punishing the evil-doers of their own race.

7th. The thorough, systematic organization on the part of the Negroes for the advancement of their own race interests, the care of the race in its struggle for existence and its rights, and the making of all political and other considerations, inferior to this object. The word of the age is "organization," "organization." Again I say to the Negroes, "Organize!"

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Chapter IX.

THE NEGRO'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

At the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, Washington, D. C., Tuesday, November 10, 1903. By Prof. E. A. Johnson, of Raleigh, North Carolina.

There is a chain of historical events binding the Negro's present condition with the almost unknown past, each link of which represents some onward step up to his present status. Strange as it may seem, there has been constant and steady progress all the way from the time the first penetration was made into an African jungle by a white man to his freedom and quasi-citizenship in America. The Negro's place in history has been just the reverse of the frog-in-the-well problem of jumping up two feet in the day and falling back three feet at night. Progress has marked his course all along through the ages. One singularity characterizes the journey, however, and that is the wonderful adaptability of the race to circumstances. First, substituted in the mines of North America, soon after its discovery by Columbus, in the place of Indians, who could not withstand the rigor of such tasks, the Negro thrives and multiplies. He easily acclimates North or South and becomes, as it were, indigenous. There is data that the Portuguese brought Negro slaves to Hispanola as early as 1503, eleven years after Columbus' first landing. In 1517 Las Cassas, Bishop of Chiapa, the most noted protector of the Indians, interceded with Charles for the substitution of the Negro as a stronger race. The Emperor accordingly authorized a large importation of Negroes from the establishments of the Portuguese on the coast of Guinea. Sir John Hawkins, sailing under a charter

from Good Queen Bess, was the first Englishman who engaged in the traffic, in which his countrymen soon largely participated. England, between the years 1680 and 1700, exported no less than three hundred thousand slaves from Africa, and between the years 1700 and 1786 imported six hundred and ten thousand to Jamaica alone.

The inhumanity attending the slave trade is well known. It has been estimated that out of every thousand slaves captured at least five hundred perished on the march from the place of capture to the coast, and that of the remaining five hundred one hundred and twenty-five of these died during the voyage across the sea, the delivery of every live slave being estimated to cost the lives of at least seven others. Slaves bought on the coast for $20 sold in the markets of the New World for $260, making a profit of $240 per head. On a cargo of four hundred and thirty-five, in one instance, which survived the voyage, there was a profit of nearly $80,000. It is little wonder that the slave trading ships armed themselves with cannon and other means of defense, after the celebrated convention of nations, which issued an edict against the practice. A business of such large profits was worth a struggle to maintain.

In the year 1787 a society for the suppression of the slave trade was formed in London. Messrs. D. Dellwyn, Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharpe were among its original members. William Wilberforce was in Parliament at that time and the most aggressive leader in that body against the traffic, but Wilberforce's bill against the slave trade of 1791 was lost. A resolution was moved by Mr. Fox in 1805 and was carried in the House of Commons, for the abolition of the slave trade at the coming session, and in 1806, Lord (afterward Earl Grey) succeeded in having a general abolition bill passed, which was carried in both Houses and received the royal assent March 25th, 1807.

British ships, however, were loath to give up so lucrative a business and still carried on the traffic under cover of the

Spanish and Portuguese flags. The slave ships were more crowded after this than before, owing to the precautions necessary to be taken to evade capture. Spain and Portugal, in 1815 and 1817, joined the United States, Great Britain, the South American Republics, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and nearly all the powers of Europe, in their efforts to suppress the slave trade. By a convention with France in 1831 and 1833, to which all Europe later acceded, the right to search slave ships was established.

These dates and periods marked the suppression of the slave trade, a great advance indeed, but slavery was still common in many countries. The curtailment of the supply of Negroes by the suppression of the traffic, forced the masters to pay more attention to the care of their slaves. It became necessary to rear the new supply by breeding from those already in bondage, as it would be vain to look to Africa for more.

Still marking an upward course, the suppression of the slave ships gave opportunity for the crystallization of sentiment against the institution of slavery itself in favor of total abolition. After many fruitless efforts, societies were formed in England to press the subject of the emancipation of slaves in her colonies. In the celebrated William Somerset case, Lord Mansfield had already in 1772 announced as a legal principle in a *habeas corpus* proceedings brought to free Somerset, who came to England as a slave from one of the colonies, that "the air of England was too free for a slave to breathe." This decision liberated Somerset while in England, but were he back in the colony from whence he came, he would still be a slave. The gist of this opinion was to prohibit slavery in England but legalize it in the colonies, hence the occasion for societies that would seek to abolish slavery in the colonies. A ministerial proposition for emancipation was introduced by Mr. Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, and an Emancipation Bill passed both Houses in 1833, receiving the royal assent August 25th of

that year. This act gave twenty million pounds to the owners of colonial slaves as an indemnity. Slavery, under this act, was to cease August 1st, 1834, a period of apprenticeship being established between the recent slaves and their former owners. Objection was raised to the apprenticeship clause of the measure, its duration was shortened, and complete enfranchisement took place in 1838. France followed with enfranchisement in her colonies in 1848, the Dutch in 1863. In Hayti, the slaves took a hand in their own enfranchisement and won their independence from France as early as 1791. Hayti was the first colony to become free and, best of all, she did the job herself, thus illustrating the maxim that "he who would be free, must first himself strike the blow!"

Brazil emancipated her slaves in 1871 by the gradual process, allowing children born of slave women after that date to be free.

America, as is well known, liberated her slaves in 1863. From 1503, the time Las Cassas landed the first slaves in Hispanola, to the time of the Haytian revolution, when the first slaves became free, is just two hundred eighty-eight years, representing eight and one-half generations. From the same period to the suppression of the slave trade through the concert of nations, 1831, is just three hundred and twenty-eight years, representing about ten generations. From this it will be observed how strong a hold the institution had on the slave holding nations. But once the wedge entered, the timbers of the structure began to give way, so that five years later, 1838, public sentiment had grown so strong that slavery was abolished in the English colonies, and twenty-five years later, 1863, America liberated her slaves. The entering of the wedge that was finally to cleave the log of slavery itself, is also aimed at all other obstacles in the way of the human treatment of the Negro. The same sentiment that abolished the slave trade is yet to tear down all other forms of oppression. The triumph of

truth is inevitable. There has been continual warfare between the emissaries of right and wrong wherever a community has been established, whether in the blazing sun of Africa or the frozen North, there has arisen the usual desperate struggle between the champions of right and the minions of evil. The struggle has been bitter and universal. In it France engaged, and the heads of royalty fell off by the hundreds; in it England engaged, and the head of Charles I. fell under the fatal chop ax. The costly wars and millions of lives sacrificed on liberty's altar make up the pet tales of history. The blood of the martyrs is no less the seed of liberty than the church, and out of it all, right will finally triumph. It would seem folly to attribute all this to chance. Shall we say that chance abolished the slave trade? Shall we say that chance abolished slavery? Shall we say that chance made Lee surrender to Grant rather than Grant surrender to Lee?

We are aware that in the early history of this country, soon after the adoption of our Federal Constitution, there were two political factions—one the Hamiltonian, which believed in a strong central government, the other the Jeffersonian, which advocated States rights. John Marshall was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court when all was chaos. No one knew what the new Constitution meant. Marshall at once took the Hamiltonian view, and construed the Constitution accordingly, building up a long line of precedents on which the basis of a strong Federal system has finally been established. Had we been given the other interpretation, of Jefferson, we might now have numerous petty States, with slavery in some, polygamy in others, warring and snarling at each other's throats, instead of the great American Union, the wonder and admiration of the world. Shall we attribute the efforts of Marshall to chance?

The foregoing, as you will observe, is a brief statement of the rise and fall of the slave trade and Negro slavery in

the New World. It will be seen that the slaves were not brought here for ornament or pleasure, but emphatically for profit. Had they not been serviceable, they would never have reached America or the colonies of other nations. The celebrated minister, George Whitfield, said of his plantation in the colonies: "Upward of five thousand pounds have been expended in the undertaking, and yet very little proficiency made, owing to the necessity I lay under of making use of white hands. Had a Negro been allowed, I should now have a sufficiency to support a great many orphans." At his plantation in South Carolina he had eight Negroes, and says of it: "God be praised! This plantation has succeeded. There will be more raised in one year, without a quarter of the expense, than has been raised in Bethesda in several years. Georgia never can or will be a flourishing province without Negroes are allowed."

Oglethorpe's colony in Georgia, in a petition to England as to its needs, said—"The one thing needful is Negroes."

Jamestown was worthless and in the throes of famine, so lazy as to call forth a law from the famous Captain John Smith, its Governor, that "he who would not work should not eat," until Negro slavery was introduced and saved them. From the day of the landing of the twenty Negroes in Jamestown, in 1619, the State of Virginia has been progressing, while before she was a glaring failure.

Scanning the past, we can surmise that the Negro race has been eminently useful as a slave. The fortunes made on slave labor are well known. English and American civilization is largely based on the unrequited toil of black men. But what bearing has all this on the solution of the race problem? The Negro is no longer a slave, you say? Why, simply this, that if the Negro was useful as a slave, he can be useful as a free man, and prophecies that if, as the friends of the Negro contend, he is worth more as a free citizen than a slave, the nations in which he resides will find his usefulness an unsurmountable barrier in the way of any

plans of deportation or extermination, and that the race will finally be properly recognized as a useful factor in the world's progress. The Whites brought the Negro from Africa because they discovered something good in him. They emancipated him because after centuries of contact they saw something better, and, judging the future by the past, I believe the *superlative* degree is yet to be reached, and the Negro and White man will remain together still longer, because his best characteristics are yet to be evolved.

CONSIDER THE NEGRO'S WORTH TO THE SOUTHERN STATES.

Like Phoenix of old, the South has risen up through the raging flames of the Civil War, though fully nine-tenths of her resources had perished and over half of her white male population had fallen before the enemy. Since 1880 she has increased her population fifty per cent. and her resources from 429 millions to one billion four hundred million, over 258 per cent. But she has been lifted out of her calamity by the strong arm of the black man in her borders. His labor has refilled her banks and started anew the wheels of industry. He is the most faithful laborer and the most liberal spender of any class of toilers on the continent. The dollar received in the envelope Saturday night more often than otherwise finds its way into the employer's hands again by Monday morning. These conditions are known and appreciated by the white South and interested Northern capitalists to such an extent that Negro labor in the South is comparatively immune from ill treatment so long as it is laboring. If the Negro should quit work the changes might become kaleidoscopic. But there are two recent dates which bear on the sociological condition of the Negro. One is the date of the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the other the abdications of the Negro's civil and political rights to the Southern States by the Republican party in 1876.

The Thirteenth Amendment, which prohibited slavery in the Union, would, no doubt, have been acquiesced in by the States, but that amendment alone could not, and did not, protect the race against the designs of those who wished to reduce it to serfdom in place of slavery, which had just been abolished by the war.

Therefore, I contend that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments became a necessity to protect the recent slaves by giving them the ballot as a weapon of defense. There was danger brewing against the freedmen, and the laws that were being enacted were calculated to defeat the intended results of emancipation. Negroes were not allowed to keep firearms in their homes as a means of defense. Negroes were not allowed to testify in the courts against white people. They were given only the first ten days in January of each year to make contracts for the year's work, otherwise to be hired out to the highest bidder, the former owners having the preference. A license of $10 per year was put upon those who "undertook to earn a living by the use of a handsaw and hammer," and a license of $100 a year was required of a Negro before he could become a "shopkeeper or peddler"; the intention of all this being to force the Negro to accept his former master's terms for his labor.

Yet we hear considerable now-a-days about the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments being a mistake! Those who make that argument do not read history, or else read, not with their eyes, but with their prejudices. A slight acquaintance with the history of the times in which they were passed is sufficient to convince any fair mind that these amendments were a political necessity, and they have failed not in toto, but only in part. They served their purpose so long as the party that passed them stood by them. When the Republican party, in 1876, during the Hayes administration, turned the Negro over to the Southern States, it made the greatest political blunder of its history. It then sowed to the wind, it is now reaping the whirlwind. By

that act the South was authorized to take charge of the Negro's political aspirations and crush them if she would. The South undertook the job, and, in league with the commercial element of the North, she has finally, after twenty-seven years of struggle, won out, and signalized her victory by the passage of the recent disfranchising acts which are intended to divest the Negro of that power to protect himself by the ballot which the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were intended to secure to him. Let those who criticise the amendments and call them a mistake rather turn their attention to the authors of the evil who figured in the events of 1876, and others who have been *particeps criminis* since that time, who now stand ready and willing to fall on their knees to any political Moloch who will keep the Negro in serfdom earning interest on their investments in Southern securities. I see no need of the wholesale abuse of the South. The Southern States have done just what they have been licensed to do, and what possibly any other set of politicians would have done had they been smart enough to discern as the South did, that they could do. You can wake up a Southern politician at any time of night and find him ready for action. Anybody with a thimble full of brains might have foreseen that what has happened would happen when the surrender took place in 1876. So the failure is not in the amendments, but in the enforcement of them. They should have been lived up to, and the failure to do this has given rise to untold hardships to the Negro race in this Country. God only knows how we shall ever extricate ourselves from this tangle. Should the Negro demand his rights under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments it would involve, today, thirty years after their adoption, either civil war or extermination. But it is proposed to repeal the amendments. Against this proposition I most seriously protest. There is no need of shutting the stable door after the horse has gone out. These amendments tided the Negro over a most difficult period of

his history and may yet stand as a bulwark against further encroachment on his liberty. They were never wrong *per se*. The task now before the patriots of the Country is to educate the whole people up to the duty of sustaining these amendments, meanwhile preparing the Negro for a better showing in citizenship. If the United States cannot guarantee civil liberty to a citizen born in her territory and bleeding for her flag, because he may have Negro blood in his veins, then she is not the land of the free and the home of the brave; the eagle represents nothing; her Christianity is hypocrisy; her missionaries sent abroad to teach heathen should be recalled to the heathen at home; and history must record that the boasted efforts of the revolutionary fathers were all in vain. But, with my eyes turned toward the future, my remedy for the solution of the race problem in the South lies in *peace* and *patience*. The immortal Grant said, "Let us have peace." Peace is necessary to growth. The only way to develop peace in the South is to cultivate friendship between the races there. He who would array the races against each other does the cause serious injury and sets back the hands on the clock of progress. In the present condition, only direful results could be expected from a clash. You miscalculate the white man's nature and his long standing thirst for power if you would expect him to back down in any contest. Peace might come temporarily through a standing army, as in 1865, but who believes that the Nation is willing or desirous of maintaining soldiers in any portion of its territory, as an example to the world that her system of government is a failure?

Time and patience should be considered also as factors in this problem. It takes *time* for growth as well as peace. Owing to the bitterness already engendered, it will take time and patience to wear away its sharpness. "Give me time," said Bismarck, "and I'll organize a people who shall be the peers of the world in arts, letters or war." No peck

measure can ever be made to hold a bushel, and no race in history has ever permanently occupied heights beyond its capacity. Why imagine the Negro race will perform miracles? I believe in the inherent ability of my people to do just what other people have done and can do, but all Greek scholars were not born saying *erkomi*, and neither does history show that all races were born at the top of the ladder. The American settlers were here over 300 years before they became free. They were here nearly 400 years before they had a railroad. The Negro has built a railroad in thirty years. The white people were here nearly 500 years before they crossed Pike's Peak and planted their civilization beyond the Rockies. The Negro has gone over there in twenty-five years, and recently we hear of Negro competitors winning first prizes from one of the leading institutions of learning on the Pacific coast. Let us not be discouraged on the one hand, nor become rash on the other. Haste, in the economics of nations may make waste, as well as with individuals.

There are duties which confront us as imperative and binding in their obligations as rights in considering this great question. *When a man cries out for his rights, he should never forget his duties.* Wellington said to his soldiers on one occasion on the eve of battle: "Soldiers, England expects every man to do his duty!" So say I tonight that in this crucial period of our history every Negro is expected to do his duty! There are fifty thousand log cabins in the Southland, in every one of which there are barefoot boys and girls, not only bare of feet, but bare of training. Booker Washingtons, J. C. Prices, Fred Douglasses and Phyllis Wheatleys in embryo, if you please, waiting for the school master! "Full many a gem, etc." Their condition appeals to us for action. Twenty years hence they will be men and women. What kind of citizens will they make? Shall they grow up into manhood and womanhood with beclouded minds and narrowed souls, or

shall they be lifted up into the purer atmosphere of American freemen?

Looking back to 1503 when Las Cassas landed the first Negro slaves in Hispanola, we behold great and marvelous progress made in the condition of the race since that time. We see it leaping from African barbarism to American Christianity, we see the slave trade abolished, we see the gradual transformation from the African jungle to the sublime privileges of American citizenship; but in spite of all this, the zenith of our hopes cannot be realized, the proud capstone of the citadel of our liberty cannot be set, until these boys and girls in the log cabins of the Southland are touched with the magic wand of the vanguard of our Twentieth Century civilization. There has been much done for us. In the brief resumè heretofore made, we are represented as being acted upon by outside forces. The question now arises, what can we do as actors ourselves in the great drama. If the Mountain will not come to Mahomet, let Mahomet go to the Mountain. Why sit on the banks of the stream, like the man in the fable, waiting for the river to run by, when we can build a bridge, or walk to the ford, or, better still, swim the current? The race needs coöperation. It is understood that we must work and save. To be born an American citizen means that! But after all the working and saving, there must be concerted movement. We have learned that property may give many of the comforts of life, but that alone never gave liberty. Liberty comes through a struggle.

"Let him take who will,
Let him hold who can."

I believe in contending in the courts, and to do this the race must act in concert.

There are thousands of Negro churches, societies and business organizations, but where is the black Pierpont Morgan who will syndicate them into one engine of gigantic

strength that with a long pull, a strong pull, a pull altogether we may be able to force conditions? We must learn to create conditions. Concert of action is an evidence of intelligence either in nations or individuals. All life, both international, state and individual, is but one vast checkerboard on which a master mind "moves" his "men" to resist the advances of the enemy. When the Negro by concert of action can make himself needed and felt, the things he wants can be obtained. If the commercial North and the commercial South have combined against the Negro's civil liberty let the Negro make such a "move" on the checkerboard as will "corner" the combine. As we have seen in the review heretofore made of the slave trade, the Negro was brought from Africa only to meet a condition in the New World. In short, he was needed. The meeting of these conditions as slaves was a conception, not of themselves, but of the white man. The time now has come to meet these conditions by our own planning and for our own welfare. If we cannot live in one State we can live in another, and if we all die away from the tombs of our ancestors perhaps we shall find just as short a route to either of the eternal resting places of man as otherwise.

More self-sacrifice and less of display, less of banqueting, and more of contribution to the erection of school houses and industrial enterprises will stand as tremendous weapons of accomplishment in the final solution of this problem. It was not by throwing feather balls into the air that the giant Hercules learned to hew down massive forests, but by tossing huge bowlders from the summits of great mountains that he gathered strength. So it was not by long resolutions and continuous talk that such men as General O. O. Howard, General Armstrong, President Cravath, E. A. Ware, Booker Washington, and others, who have been preparing the race for the duties of its new citizenship, have lifted it thus far in its onward progress. They have been doers rather than talkers, and as they toiled thousands of

New England's matrons were stinting themselves of the comforts of life that they might send a few pennies to the missionary workers in the Southland. Many of them have cut off the luxuries from their tables to contribute to Negro education. Here is an example for us. The white missionaries are leaving the field. There must be others to take their places. The South does not object to Negro education by Negroes. The harvest is ripe, the field is white, let us go in and gather—gather for time, gather for eternity!

Chapter X.

Session of Wednesday, November 11.

The meeting was called to order by Hon. Geo. H. White, the presiding officer of the Conference. Bishop Arnett invoked the divine blessing. Minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, also a report of the night sessions.

The president announced that President Roosevelt would receive the members of the Conference Thursday at twelve o'clock.

There followed a discussion as to the advisability of assembling again on Thursday to conclude matters deliberately, as it was suggested all depended upon what was published to the world as the result of the Conference.

Next came the introduction of members.

Bishop Benjamin W. Arnett, D. D.:

I have no special message to bring you. I got a call, and have come to see what the call meant. I am here in all that relates to the race or country. It is close to my heart. I have just closed a very important meeting at Pittsburg in organizing the women of our church in an international organization, with the purpose of carrying on the work among our more unfortunate brethren in this land and others. I pay my respects and let you know that whatever I can do in any way to assist in this work you can call upon me for. It is a source of pleasure to me to see the progress that has been made in the years past. In 1864 occurred the first national convention of the race. It was my privilege to be a member, in Syracuse. Highland Garnett and Douglass called a national convention, and for the first time in the history of the race we had a convention. From that time until now I have been in the harness and have tried to do what I can to assist in the work of the elevation of the

BISHOP BENJAMIN W. ARNETT, D. D., LL. D., OF THE A. M. E. CHURCH.
Member, Executive Committee, National Sociological Society.
Chairman, Committee on Legislation and Transportation,
National Sociological Society.

people. Be assured that I am with you heart and hand. You can count on me. If there is any hard work to do I will do the best I can.

EDUCATION AND PATRIOTISM.

REV. DR. DEAN RICHMOND BABBITT :

A great many thoughts suggest themselves to an onlooker. I presume that every utterance today in favor of or against the colored race has a significance it would not have at another time, and consequently in regard to myself, I always feel as if I ought to speak with a great deal of deliberation whenever I say anything, for fear of misinterpretation, misconception, misrepresentation, perhaps honest, so that one is put, as it were, upon his good behavior as a speaker.

Your race is in a transitional state. I believe that it is a time for very great conservatism as well as for clearness and force. Your race has not been the only sufferer in years gone by in the great cause of freedom. General Birney, who is present at this Conference, has really had, in earlier years, a most remarkable experience that may be unknown to most of you. This gentleman sat at the same table and was a member of my uncle's, Dr. Gamaliel Bailey's family in Cincinnati. Dr. Bailey was an Abolitionist editor, and they were all in the cause then. I remember General Birney describing to me some of the early defences and means of protection for some of the runaway slaves. It may not be improper, on an occasion of this kind to narrate very briefly one or two of these experiences. General Birney has told me that on one occasion a young Negro girl had escaped from her master, boarded an Ohio river steamer, left it at Cincinnati, and sought her freedom. General Birney and others shielded this girl from her pursuers. One Burnett, an ardent Abolitionist, took her into his home, which was above his place of business. The blood of the pro-slavery party was up in a moment and it was but a short time, that, taking umbrage at the fact that the girl was harbored, word went around Cincinnati and these hot bloods in Cincinnati thought that it was necessary that the property of this Mr. Burnett should be burned. Consequently a mob was formed. General Birney, who had not had any military experience then, though afterwards an army officer, determined he would do what he could to protect the property of his friend. So he gathered thirteen men in all, the unlucky number, and went to the Burnett residence and business place. He took them into the cellar. There was a large amount of coal there in the form of large lumps. They carried this to the second and third stories. They made a kind of barrier-shield, so that when the mob threw up missiles those on the inside would not be struck. The General manned the windows. All now was ready. The crowd gathered at dusk. Then General Birney stepped to the window and said : "We are here to protect the property of Mr. Burnett, and if this assemblage comes up to the pavement we shall resist it with the best means we have. After he made his speech he retired from the win-

dow and the mob advanced. "Boys, be careful of your coal," said the General, and when the mob got on the pavement, he continued, "Let fly the coal." Two men dropped and later died in Kentucky. The mob made another assault, and were bombarded with coal. They were driven back again. This lasted for three days, until the mayor of the city at last called out the troops and the mob was dispersed.

We must remember what has been done by white men for the race. They have suffered in their business and been ostracized from society for the position they have taken in favor of your race. There should be a recognition of this.

Another time, in Warren County, Ohio, General Birney was in a Methodist church. A mob was forming of about sixty young men. He was making an abolition speech. They were determined to get at him. He had proceeded about ten minutes when they marched up the aisle with their sticks and other things in ther hands. General Birney said "Halt." They all came to a standstill. "I am here to make this speech and I will not suffer interruption," said he. "If you want to ask any questions I will answer them. I propose going on with this speech. If I am assaulted (here he took out two revolvers) I propose to shoot the first man who assaults me or troubles me. What are you going to do?" he asked of the leader. The mob leader asked of the others what they had better do. "Shall we hear him?" "Yes," said they. And so they listened to him as he made his points, and after a while applauded him, later actually shook hands with him and congratulated him on his address. This is an instance of a method by which mobs should be treated.

PROF. JESSE MACY, of the University of Iowa:

I am very glad to be present at a conference of this kind. I am to the *manor* born. I am told that as an infant in arms I sat on the knees of Frederick Douglass and he was a guest in my father's house. I was the thirteenth child, so there might have been some mistake about that. I was determined to renew my acquaintance with him. I gave him the name of my father and mother. They were Quakers born in North Carolina, and they went to Indiana to get away from slavery. They were among the first who took part in the abolition movement. I am certainly profoundly interested in everything that I have heard in connection with this conference, and if I could say a word that would be of any interest whatever, I should think more of it than of reminiscence. I am of the impression that among the very wise words that have been said here are those by Senator Blair; that after all the real problem is not the Saxon race problem, nor the Negro race problem, but the human race problem. There is a great deal of wisdom in that. I believe that there is another line of sentiment which has found expression in a number of ways, and that is that we have reached the time now when there is less emphasis of duty among all classes of the human race than a hundred years ago. At that time there was very little of anything else than the forcible assertion of right. It does not command the confidence that it did before the French revolution. We will get along faster in the end if we emphasize the mat-

ter of duty. What may we do to add something because of our peculiarites to the aggregate of human possibilities? It is your duty to make use of your peculiar accidental relations as members of the human family, and make whatever contribution you can make to the welfare of our race, the human race. It is your problem and it is your duty. I believe, as Christians, in the Christian spirit and Christian faith, that we must believe that every one of the races that have been in this world have something to contribute for the common good of this world, with every natural characteristic involved. We will get along faster and further if we emphasize that point of view; what can we do to contribute out of our experience something positive for the benefit of the human race?

DR. F. J. GRIMKE:

I have always felt that some of us feel that it is our duty to emphasize our rights and stand up for them. I believe we ought to contend for our rights until every right under the Constitution is accorded. We feel that that is our duty!

PROF. JESSE MACY:

I am glad to have this expression. I do not wish to be misunderstood. There always will be the duty of standing up for rights, but at the same time in the attainment of those rights you will fare better if you realize that under present conditions there will be less opposition if you seek to attain those rights through the faithful performance of duty in the exercise of the rights you already have.

PROF. E. A. JOHNSON, of Shaw University:

I came to this Conference with the hope of finding out what might be done with reference to the Southern situation more particularly. There seems to be in this country two or three civilizations. We have the New England civilization; we have the Southern civilization, and the Negro civilization. Unfortunately the New England civilization does not agree in its views with the Southern civilization as to what they shall do with the Negro. And it seems that the Negro, from having been taught principally by New England teachers, has imbibed more of the New England idea of American civilization than of the Southern. Therefore, they have pretty much of the same view as New England as to what shall be done with themselves. There is where the conflict comes. The Southern man wants to have his way and the New England man wants to have his way, and the Negro goes with New England. The Southern people are looking forward to this Conference for some help in the solution of this problem. They do not know what to do. They are confronting a condition while people in other parts are confronting theory. They have got these problems to meet every day in life. "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." The lines are just as tightly drawn as if they were in the law books of the land. The line as to social equality you know. The line as to political equality they are drawing tight, and the colored man has got to meet them there in that country. What shall we do? His head is there in the lion's mouth. I agree in some respects with what is said about duty. In these Southern States there are boys and girls, bare of

feet and bare of mind, Booker Washingtons, Frederick Douglasses, J. C. Prices and Phyllis Wheatleys, waiting for schoolmasters to come there and transform them into men and women. They will be citizens in a few years. Shall they go abroad warped in mind and soul or shall they be lifted up into the higher atmospheres of our American freedom? It is in the country districts in the Southern States where the problem of the Negro race is today (of both races), right there, not in Washington nor in Massachusetts, nor in Ohio, but in the Southern States. There has been great effort to solve this problem and to reach these barefoot boys and girls. Armstrong, Washington, Gen. Howard and others, the pioneers in the work, have reached a few. The Methodist Church, the Baptist Church, all the churches are reaching some, but yet the statistics show that 45 per cent. of them today cannot read or write, and they are subject to whom? Subject to an ignorant white population, 35 per cent. of whom cannot read and write themselves, and who are in many cases further behind in civilization. Consequently they must submit to an inferior civilization in this country, owing to the situation. I suggest that some plan should be formulated by this Conference that shall not end in our talk only, but shall end in an organization that shall, through the societies among the colored people of the United States, gather up funds that shall be put into these sections for the purpose of organizing schools that shall reach these boys and girls, and in twenty years from today the problem will be somewhat solved. They could not hold the right of franchise if you gave it to them. They have not held it and they could not. I say this out of respect to those who have done the best they could. I hope this meeting will result in some such permanent organization as I propose.

As it was growing late, the following members were introduced by rising only:

Mr. Charles E. Egson.

Dr. J. G. Butler, of Luther Place Memorial Church, Washington, D. C.

Prof Charles C. Cook, of Howard University.

Mr. Ernest Hamlin Abbott, of *The Outlook*.

STATESMANSHIP AND PHILANTHROPY.

At this place the last topic for discussion was brought before the conference with these words by

PROF. MILLER:

We have today the last topic named on the program, and to my mind the crucial one, and one about which we should say considerable. We can hardly conceive of the race problem being solved without the instrumentality of statesmanship. It is impossible to eliminate the Negro as a factor.

Wise and enlightened statesmanship is one of the prime factors; it is necessary to secure harmonious governmental activity. As to religion, let us think that the thing that has done most for the Negro has been his adoption of the Christian religion. Suppose he had remained heathen. Can we not clearly see that he would not have had the hold upon the esteem of the American people that he has? The function of religion is to allay the friction among men: without the application of religion it cannot be done. If the Negro race could be persuaded to observe the Ten Commandments, and at the same time if the White race could be persuaded to observe the golden rule, this question would be solved; they are factors in the solution of this problem. Charity, philanthropy, that desire of the strong to help the weak, is not always a religious feeling, is not always a matter of statesmanship, is sometimes a thing apart. We cannot expect an ultimate solution of any of the race problems without the application of the principles of philanthropy.

REV. DR. OWEN M. WALLER:

I, too, believe in building and construction, and in synthesis as well as analysis, and I have had some experience in the South, but I believe the first thing to construct in any race is to build it into manhood. That must be the foundation for all superstructures. If we look back into history upon the races which have accomplished anything in this world that is worth remembering, we find that first of all they were men. They had a large conception of manhood. They insisted upon having what other men deemed worth having. I believe that if we make the mistake of urging a man to build his house, to build up his bank account, and to lay out his truck garden before we make him a man, we are going to make a mistake that will react upon us in the days to come I have always felt that I would rather be a man after the creation of my God, after what I understand manhood to be in the Old and New Testament, and go without my truck garden, than to be a cringing flunkey living in a palace; and as to the importance of these material things, it was the Master who said, "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth."

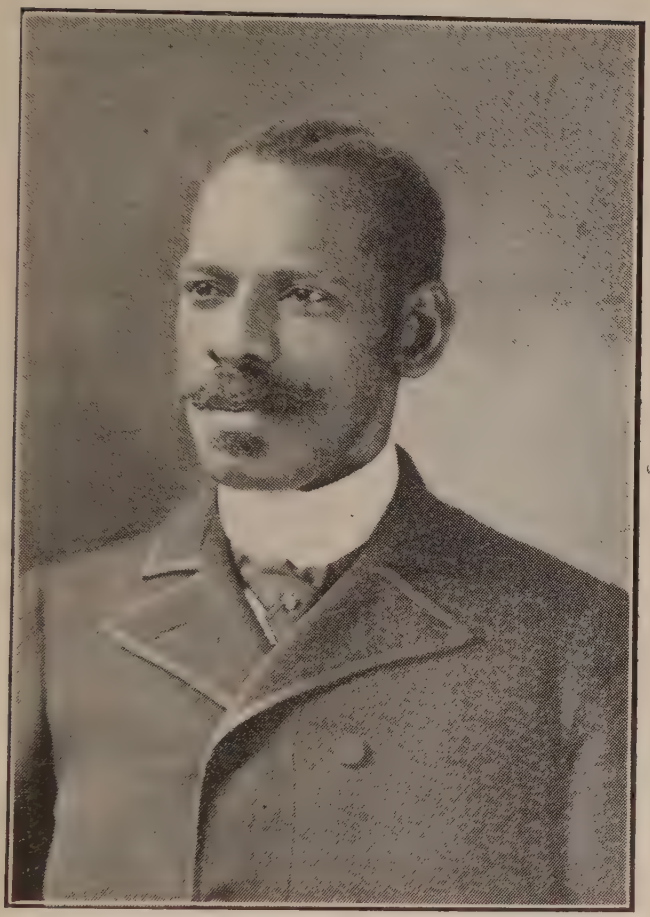
Manhood and all that goes with it are his best possessions. As between the ballot and bread, give me the ballot. Passing from the abstract to the concrete, from theory to practice.

If we are to live under this popular form of government, if we are to live under this republican form of government, you know full well that every citizen in this land must be an individual sovereign, and the man who ceases to be fully a citizen by the exercise of his citizen sovereignty, by not voting, becomes a plaything for the least of the people.

JUSTICE E. M. HEWLETT:

I just desire to say that so far as the Negro is concerned in the South, that he plays no part whatever in the solution of the race problem. In Alabama we have school teachers, preachers and lawyers, and other educated Negroes; every man is disfranchised because he is a Negro. We may have all the education we want; what we want is this: Without the

ballot the Negro ceases to be a man, and I say that the very first thing and the only thing that will solve this problem is that he be treated as a man. Give him the ballot, and he will look after the education and the rest himself. We have got to agitate this question until we kindle the germ of justice in the North, and they will compel by some method the Southern section of our country to treat the Negro as a man. We take no middle ground. We must demand our rights as men.



REV. WALTER H. BROOKS, D. D.,
Pastor, Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.
Chairman, Committee on Religion and Ethics,
National Sociological Society.

At the Lincoln Temple Congregational Church, Wednesday, November 11, 1903.

Chapter XI.

RELIGION.

By Rev. Walter H. Brooks, D. D.

Mr. President:

Whatever is said as to other matters, it is certain that the element of religion must enter into the solution of this problem. Prof. Kelly Miller puts the emphasis upon the Ten Commandments for the black man, and upon the golden rule for the white man, but, if the golden rule means that you shall not only do unto your neighbor as you wish your neighbor to do unto you, but that you shall love your neighbor as yourself, then we must go back to the words of Jesus: "Upon these hang all the law and the prophets." There is no such thing as loving your neighbor unless you keep the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th Commandments. Each man must do what is right in the sight of God. If we do that, we will get along. There are bad men among the colored people, and bad men among the white people, but the bad men among the colored people are not oppressing the good white people, nor are they oppressing the bad white people. We are wronged; we are robbed; we are outraged; wronged in the matter of the ballot; thrust into the "Jim Crow" car in travel; wronged in the courts; wronged all through life; in fine, we are looked upon as creatures made by Almighty God something *less* than the white man. In all this we are grievously wronged. What I insist upon is this—that the religion of the white man, if we are justified in interpreting creed by conduct, allows him to deal with us in this manner, and I think that the

time is coming, and that it is not very far off, when there is going to be a great deal of ostracism suffered by the few God-fearing and just white people, because they dare stand up and teach their brethren that it is their duty to live up to the golden rule in dealing with the Negro. Take Mr. Babbitt; suppose he were a pastor of a Southern church. How long would he stay there? How long would the people tolerate such sentiments as he has here expressed? His stay would be short, I venture to say. When I was a boy, some white men, preachers of the Gospel, had to leave Virginia, simply because they preached what they conceived to be the truth of God about slavery. The time has come when there must be *a missionary work done among the white people of the South*, to take their heels from our necks. True it is that *we* must be taught the Ten Commandments; true it is that *we* must do everything that is right on our part, but the oppression which we suffer will never cease until *the other man* learns to do justice to his neighbor. Religion has always been a source of comfort to the Negro; it is the one thing that prevents the white man from crushing out of us the spirit of hope and of manhood. It is a matter of religion with us, that "out of one blood God hath created all men to dwell upon the face of the earth." And, believing in the oneness of humanity, we accept as true all that that oneness implies. I believe that God will again punish the American people for doing what they are doing toward our degradation. The Spanish people once possessed an empire in America, but God has reckoned with Spain, and today, in all this Western World, there is not a foot of land which belongs to this once proud oppressor. Prior to the *American Revolution*, England owned the thirteen American colonies, which subsequently became the United States of America.

By the loss of what today is her equal in progress and civilization, and her rival on the high seas, the avarice and oppression of the mother country were *providentially re-*

buked and punished. God, in His own time, and in His own way, will deal with our oppressors

During the period of devastation and death which afflicted this country from the year 1861 to the year 1865, the best blood of the North, including that of Lincoln himself, and the best blood of the South, together with millions on millions of treasure, were required as an *atonement* for the sin and guilt of American slavery. It was in the midst of this bloody conflict that some one seemed to perceive that a just God was demanding of the people of the United States of America a drop of blood by the sword for every drop drawn by the lash during two hundred and fifty years of Negro slavery.

What God shall demand of this people for the cruelties and hardships which we are today suffering at their hands, and have suffered for a third of a century and more, I know not. But one thing is certain, there is a God who determines the destiny of nations, and while He ties our hands with the law of non-resistance, He has given us this comfort, "Vengeance is mine, and *I will repay.*"

Let the foes of the black man do their very worst. Let them formulate mischief by a law; let them re-enslave large numbers of us for real and pretended crimes; let them burn alive the innocent and the guilty to vent their race hatred; let them mob and chase into exile our ministers of the Gospel for simply believing that some of the crimes charged up against the black man belong, in truth, to the dark records of the white man; let them do toward us all that a wicked imagination can suggest and a wicked heart execute, the black race, on their knees before God, crying "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do," will ultimately win the victory, for the hosts of God that camp about us, on the invisible heights, inspire in us an ever increasing faith in God, as they shout "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper." Yes; the element of religion enters into the solution of the Race Problem as

nothing else does. It was the sentiment of the *Golden Rule*, which demanded the Negro's emancipation. It was that sentiment that demanded and secured for him the *ballot* and the *public schools*, as it was that sentiment which brought to the South, in the wake of conquering armies, the companies of men and women who gave to us the beginnings of those Christian institutions which today are the hope and progress of our struggling people. So, too, it is religion that teaches us to heed the sayings and conform our lives to the life of the Great Teacher. It is religion which bids us to be just and honest, to be courteous and kind in all our dealings with the white man and with all other races of men. Moreover, it is religion, not cowardice, which prompts us to be patient, long-suffering, and joyful in all our tribulations, knowing, as we do that, "all things work together for good to them that love God."

If the white man and the black man alike lived up to the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, there would be no Race Problem in the United States of America. Theoretically and professedly the American people are followers of the Man Christ Jesus, but in deed and in truth they are, as the race troubles verify, if we may judge a people by what that people tolerate, no better in the sight of God than were those religious teachers to whom the Master said—

"Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father it is your will to do. He was a murderer from the beginning, etc." (John viii, 44.)

The ills we suffer at the hands of the white man are making more *Ingersols* in that race today than we may imagine. The *lovers of liberty* have often preferred to be scorned as infidels by the champions of a *perverted Christianity* rather than remain silent while they outrage the first principles of the Man of Nazareth.

The Negro Problem is the problem of the American Church, and yet it is but a phase of the Race Problem. If Christian America outrages China, will China delight in the coming

of American missionaries? If Christianity means love for humanity, the sacrifice of self for the elevation of others, will American youth become genuine Christians while their fathers practise all kinds of barbarities and outrages on the black man?

In more ways than one the American people are today reaping what they sow, and the greatness of the harvest is yet in the future. Let us all get back to the feet of Jesus. There white and black, brown and red, learn to love one another as dear little children. God hasten the day!

REV. D. E. WISEMAN, B. D.:

I am not going to discuss the subject before us, but I simply want to say one word in reference to a matter that was touched upon by Rev. Brooks. He referred to the Spanish people; he referred to their punishment. I have heard so many speeches made with reference to the Spanish people, but I have never heard the distinction made in reference to the impression that came from those people to some other people.

REV. DEAN RICHMOND BABBITT:

It seems to me that if ever a wise word ought to be said in any conference it ought to be said in this, because the eyes of a great many people are upon you and the ears of a great many people are attent to the words that may be said here. I think if I might, as a friend of your race, utter a warning, it would be that whatever suggestion or plan or advice is here given, it should be along the lines of temperance, prudence and conservatism, and, if I might suggest, with all proper appreciation of the feelings of people that have been treated as yours have, that everything ought to be said outside of the realm of passion. I feel very keenly for the colored race; I have gathered the story of its wrongs with no little degree of assiduity.

We have on this program certainly a large plan, and, in my judgment, it would be wise to keep to that plan, and without responding to those impulses of natural feeling, that you look not upon the past, but upon the present and the future. In my own judgment of the facts that I have gathered, *the whole race situation makes a question of manhood and its opportunity.* There are other questions. The race question is a moral question, as has been intimated. There are subordinate questions—industrial, political questions—*but the great question is a moral question*, and it is the question of the manhood of the Negro race; of the keeping of the doors of opportunity open in striving to prevent their being shut; it is liberation from race prejudice; all these things that we meet in the South and more in the North. What shall be done in order to meet these? We have had suggestions of religion. I believe profoundly that if the emphasis were taken off of the schoolroom and put upon the pulpit, that the

problem of the advance of your race and its liberation from its difficulties would be more successfully solved than in any other way. That means that we are to change the emphasis from the head to the heart. We talk about brains and capacity and opportunity for education, and it seems to me that the leaders of your race and the leaders of my own race in trying to assist you are assuming that intellectual education is going to lead the race where it could not be otherwise. But that is not the chief factor. When you look over the races of the world and find those who have done the great work of the world, you will discover that those races have the soul or moral fiber; they have been races of character. The chief emphasis needs to be placed upon the character of the colored race rather than upon the heads of the colored race. It may not seem complimentary. When the war was over, schools were started in the South everywhere. Now if the school men had taken some of the very best and most intelligent of your race—if these had gone into the pulpit instead of into the schoolroom, with the same plan and intelligence—your race would be in a better condition than it is today. It would have more respect from the Southern people and from the Northern people. I want to say the thing that is the wise thing; I do not want to say the thing that is rhetorical; I wish to say the word that is the ultimate word. Emphasis must be put upon character. Character carries everything with it. The important thing is the heart, the morals.

Look into the old days of the Scotch Covenanters. They had religious zeal, of course, but underneath all was granite character. This won all. Character affects statesmanship. How are we going to influence statesmanship? That is always dependent upon moral ideas. How is the manhood of the race to be secured? It is by your race organizing and bringing to bear upon statesmen and politicians of the Republican party moral ideas. This is your only hope. The force of your race must be the moral force of your race, so that men will be obliged to take a stand for the manhood of the colored race because the manhood is there. That is my suggestion. You should educate more and more, but put into the pulpit your best men. Let the emphasis be on the heart and the character, then you can hew your way morally to success. Then bring your power of moral ideas to bear upon the different parties. Someone has said a man is not a man without a vote. In New York there were 50,000 Republicans recently, it is said, who did not vote. But a man is a man without a vote. The manhood of England for centuries did without a vote. The ballot is important, is necessary. I want the colored race to have it; it is a great protection; it is one of the badges of American manhood; but it does not sum up the thing that is the personal thing, the thing that makes the man the man and the woman the woman.

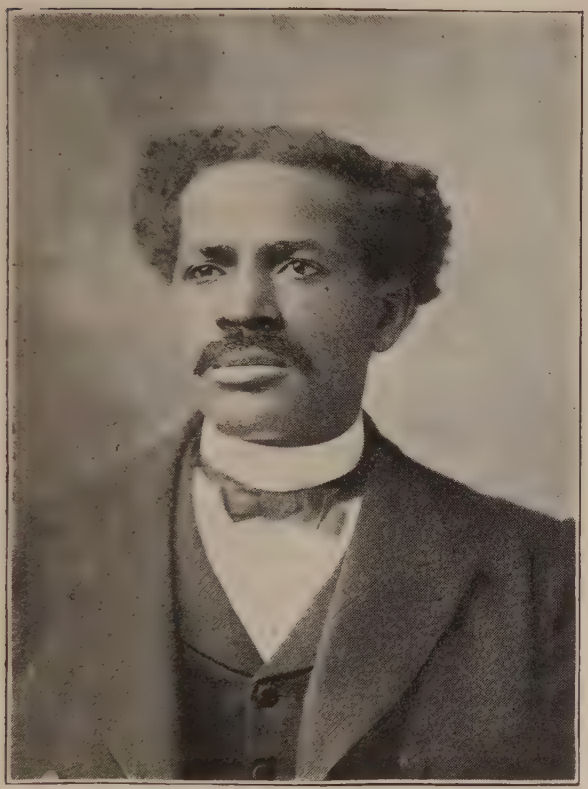
HON. JOHN P. GREEN:

Statesmanship would solve the race problem; and what is the race problem? It is the ability of the white and black races of this country to live side by side in peace, harmony, and on terms of equality. What is the trouble now? What has made the great change which has taken

place within the last decade? It is commercialism. This is where the trouble has been in the North for many years. There are millions of Northern capital invested in the South, in mines and mining, plantations, rolling mills, sugar, cotton, etc., and when you touch a white man's pocket you touch his heart. These people in the North having so much capital in the South are closely wedded to them. The propaganda has gone forth, and there is a distinct understanding to let well enough alone, not to interfere in this race problem. Products of the South are being used in the North. The North has said, "Let them alone, provided our industries are not interfered with and our business disturbed." It is impossible for these ten millions of colored people to abide within themselves alone. There are people who will help us to fight our battle, and we can never gain their support until we win them by appealing to those characteristics which they love. The white man worships power; he worships the dollar, because the dollar represents power. To win them *we must become powerful factors*, politically and otherwise. This will be the solution of the race problem—in part, at least.

MR. JAMES E. HUNT:

I thought of the many things regarding the solution of the race problem that the question of statesmanship is too important a question for us to pass over and not give some definite word concerning it. Fully one-half the ills that have come to the colored people of this country have come to them from the political storm center, because of their stand politically; because of their being allied with a certain political party. There is no denying that. We want another kind of education, some say; some say we want to learn different industries; something is wrong. Why may it not be a question of whether or not we have always voted right; whether we have always acted right politically; whether we have acted wisely in that direction? The question with me is whether we have done well when we allied ourselves with one political party. These suggestions have been made often. Are we using our strength (though it may be said we have not much, there is a certain political strength)? That is the only thing we are respected for today. We have had our franchise because this is our strength. Why not study how to use it? As a rule, no superior will treat an inferior honestly if there is not some tribunal before which he can be brought to justice. Here is a people that have been allied with the Republican party generally; how are they treated by that party? Are they treated as they should be, or not? If they ask for legislation they may not get what they ask for because they are bound to one side. I have seen persons who have been friendly to us connected with other parties. They have done good acts for us. I think these things are important things. We have had some very useful persons connected with other parties, and when we might have rendered them a service we could not do so. Were we to ourselves, drawn out from all parties, we would be at liberty to help our friends found in other parties. They would see that we could be useful to them.



REV. S. L. CORROTHERS, D. D.,
Pastor, Galbraith A. M. E. Zion Church, Washington, D. C.
Member, Executive Committee, National Sociological Society.

REV. GARNET R. WALLER, A. M., of Baltimore:

It is well to get at the real issue first as last. Be it pleasant or unpleasant, it is right, and the quicker we get at it and settle it the better. We are in our last and greatest combat as a race, and that is for manhood and the demonstration of all manhood. In a republic like this it is useless to tell me that I am to abdicate my kingship and lay down my power to say what is to be done with me. If I am not man enough to exercise it then I am the worse by it. It is not a question of party manipulation. Another thing, what is good for the white man is good for the Negro, and I find that the first thing a white man will do is to lay down his life for his ballot. It means some thing. He wants his education, and he wants the best; he does not want to stop at mechanical education or industrial education, but has it all from the kindergarten up. We want and will contend for manhood and all it stands for. The more you compromise in anything the worse you are off, and the man who wants you to compromise wants to rob you. The battle is on hard, heavy and long. *Let us do this, make up our minds to fight it out;* better to die in this way than to live a coward, dog!

REV. S. L. CORROTHERS:

I am deeply concerned about this. I take the position that *under our form of government no man can be a man without the ballot.* It is impossible. It is the only medium through which he can have anything to do with his life, his education or anything else. What voice has he in a courtroom, what part will he take in the selection of the men who are to try him for his life, if he has no ballot? He is a slave, and as for the men in New York who refused to vote, they could have if they had wished. The most important thing that we want is wise leaders along this very line, and we must select leaders who are not dependent upon white men's money to live. The thing that is doing the most harm is this craze that is going around that we must bear anything simply to get a few dollars—this industrial craze and other things of that kind. There is no man in this country who would be willing to surrender his ballot. I have religion, good religion at that, yet I would die rather than give up my vote to the white man. Build up character in the Negro, that kind of character that cannot be twisted about in a week; that character that can recognize its rights and stand by them. I hope no colored man will allow himself to believe that he can live and be respected in this country without the ballot. The Negro could well afford to surrender all industrial schools for the ballot. If he has the ballot he can get all these things. When the ballot passes away Negro freedom will be a thing of the past. We need wise men in the pulpit North and South. We must stick to the truth regardless of consequences. Our women are all right, and when the Negro man will kill the man who degrades his wife or daughter as the white man does he will be respected.

MR. L. M. HERSHAW:

We all realize that we are not going to find any new solution of the problem. We are not going to invent any new method of proceeding to

solve what is called the race problem. If we are going to make any progress at all, if we are going to help anybody at all, we are going to proceed in the future substantially along the same lines as we have in the past. In human society there are certain finalities as there are in morals. I take it for granted that every civilized man knows it will never be right to steal; it will never be right to bear false witness, to murder. These things are final and are settled forever in the very nature of man. It has been discovered that men have got to live together in society, and we have about four thousand years of man's experience in living together in society, and after all that experience has been taken together the conclusion has been reached that the only just and safe and possible way for men to live together in society, in order that each one gets the most out of it, is to live together as equals. We cannot afford to take this question into conference any more than these other things that are final. In addition to what we have already said, that mankind's experience teaches that it is best for everyone to be equal in society, it has been further discovered that the one way in which men can preserve this is to have the same incitement by which it is to be preserved, and that is the ballot. It ought to be universal. If we cannot have it that way it ought to be so that every people should have it on the same conditions. As to education, it is such a broad term it will include statesmanship and philanthropy. Right education includes religion. Without education there can be no underlying statesmanship. Without education there can be no proper philanthropy. Universal education in this country and in other countries grew out of the fact that the assumption was that all men were to have the ballot and be equally concerned in public affairs. There could be no sufficient ground to tax the people for carrying on public schools. The very basis of the school system is that all men are to equally participate in the affairs of the government, so that the State is interested in educating all of its citizens. All are so connected and interwoven that it is impossible to separate them. These are the methods that have been employed; these are the methods that will be employed; and I look to find no man who will discover any other means to deal with this race problem or any other problem.

PROF. R. C. BRUCE:

I think every reflective Negro will give consent to first, that he will enjoy the ballot precisely upon the same terms that the Negro needs education like everybody else, from the kindergarten to the college. I wish to discuss one aspect of the education of the city Negro. We find in the cities of St. Louis and Philadelphia, of which study has been made by Mr. DuBois and by a white man, that three groups of facts become very clear. In the first place, the fundamental character of the Negro population is poverty. In property holding in the seventh ward of Philadelphia the Negro comprised 42 per cent. of the population and had 4½ per cent. of the worse property. The Negro is fundamentally a poor man. The same fact is brought out by a glance at the statistics of occupation. There are very few in the skilled trades, a very large number in common and domestic service. The Negro recruits the lower order of domestic service.

They live in the worst sections (the Negro masses) and in the worst houses. The fundamental character is poverty. The second characteristic, which I mention with some hesitation, is the fact that the Negro population is characterized by what we must acknowledge to be an excessive amount of crime. In Philadelphia and Baltimore and Washington, North and South, the death rate is very high, is very alarming. In many cases, in St. Louis, this death rate seems to be twice as great. I would say that there is a distinct casual connection between the Negro's poverty and the Negro's crime and the Negro's excessive death rate. An empty sack cannot stand up; a hungry man cannot be honest. There is a distinct casual connection. Poorly clad, poorly nourished, he dies more readily than all other elements of the population. If it be true that there is a casual connection between these, I ask what are the schools of the cities doing to overcome that fundamental character of the Negro population, poverty. I suggest that investigation will show that direct training for economic independence is one of the undeveloped functions of the schools in these cities. Education, statesmanship and religion are important in the development of any race. Education won't feed a man when he is hungry. The starved white man will die as soon as the starved colored man. But in this matter of education these are three factors necessary for the development of any race. To protect education we must have pure statesmanship. The ballot is the thing that will protect pure statesmanship. If statesmanship is not necessary to a man why is it that the people do not take away religion and education? The Negro knows that the others must follow when the ballot goes.

Rev. Howard here emphasizes education as a factor in the solution.

THE NECESSITY FOR A COMMISSION TO CONSIDER THE VARIOUS PHASES OF THE RACE PROBLEM.

MR. JOHN W. CROMWELL:

There has never been any systematic effort made to arrive at conclusions as to the exact condition of the Negro with respect to education and with respect to labor. Even the census taken three years ago is silent with respect to these very things. When it comes to finding out how much of the crops are produced by colored labor we get a little inkling, but when we go a step further to find the exact amount of the acreage of the country that is grown by the Negro we find that the census reports are silent. Government reports do not give us always the information that we desire. The creation of a commission to gather these facts in such a way as to be relied upon has been suggested by this Conference, a suggestion that would aid materially in promoting the cause of education, the attempt to help popular sentiment along the line of getting national aid to education. We need not discuss whether education is a necessity or not, but we should work along that line which will be productive of the best results toward securing more education for the people. *The need for national aid is important.*

HON. GEORGE C. GORHAM :

I notice the old line of feeling between the conservatives and radicals as it appears everywhere. Whatever action is taken must be approved by both elements. The appointment of this Commission is perhaps as important a matter as can come before this Conference. The Commission must gather the facts, must take testimony in all the States. Then the American people are ready for action. I believe it ought to be composed of about nine men, as it is a parliamentary rule that a majority should favor the propositions of a committee. I should say that six of these men should be in favor of the uplifting of a race, in favor of the betterment of ten millions of our people, of raising them to the plane of high civilization. The mark of high civilization is the orderly administration of justice. We want life protected. You want your rights protected, and you want liberty, not simply liberty to breathe the air, and that under despotism ; you want liberty of speech, to act as every other American citizen acts, and you want the privileges of every other American citizen. It seems to me that if the Commission is appointed by the President on the recommendation or nomination of officers of your body, such Commission composed (and I may name two men without too great partiality, Gen. Birney and Professor W. E. B. DuBois, that we all know by his writings in all libraries as a very able man) of nine such men who ought to go to every State in this Union, to the capital of each State, to take testimony, say the testimony of friends of your race who believe in humanity, who understand the basic principles of the sermon on the mount. There had been no race problem since Christ, if we had followed His teachings. He wiped out all race lines and all color lines. The very science of His teachings goes down to that. This Commission should take testimony in the capital of each of the forty-five States, as each State is interested in this question. (It is not a question of Georgia or any one State ; it is a question of a republic. We want the Union, we want the Nation to grow, and the Nation never can reach the highest plane of civilization unless it protects life and property and liberties of the very humblest citizen.) With that testimony, with those facts, the Commission may hear, if they please, five or six on the one side, five or six on the other, and then bring back the results of this investigation. Then we can demand that Congress shall act, that the supreme law of the land shall be no longer trampled under ; that the Government shall not abdicate its authority. There will be no abdication of the supreme central Government. That Government will act. As Hamilton says, "It is the first duty of a government to protect the government." When the facts are in we can demand that this Government shall protect all the governed.

DR. W. A. SINCLAIR :

I am not in accord with the importance of this commission. I prefer to stand on my rights as an American citizen. I have my suspicions of Congressional commissions. They are a nuisance. We all know the conditions existing in this country. We have as much information as

can be received from a dozen commissions. What information can a commission give to us?

Here one point of explanation was offered as follows:

MR. GORHAM:

The statement goes to the country that only a certain number of Negroes are registered. The impression is that only that number are registered because they are not qualified according to the Constitution. There are no means of finding out whether that is so or not.

DR. SINCLAIR:

I am still opposed to commissions. Bulky volumes occupy places in the public library detailing all kinds of facts relating to the South. An industrial commission has been gathering facts right here in this city. Our race has been slandered through this very industrial commission. Suppose we do get six friends of the race, we would have a number who were opposed, who would issue a minority report. The minority report would find space in every paper, would be the basis of magazine articles, and will bring great damage to our people all around. I think this meeting should take a stand and issue its appeal to this country in due form by its own investigations and further publications.

MR. DANIELS, of Virginia:

I hold in my hand the bill reported by the educational commission last winter. It has been my special business to attend upon the meetings of the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate. After a period of two years in attending to the subject involved, a bill to incorporate the General Education Board and the Southern Education Board, of which you have heard, was brought in. It has spent a large amount of money in gathering this information. I had occasion to go to the committee that appointed this committee and beg it to get some names of men who really knew something and cared something about education. If you can get Andrew Carnegie or Rockefeller to help, it would be all right. You can get no legislation from Congress unless you can unite and get the money to carry out all plans.

MR. REUBEN S. SMITH:

I want to combat the position that there should be no commission. We already know these committees and commissions that find out nothing we do not know. It is true in a general way, but there must be a judicial investigation, a jury and a judge for the man who is accused of crime. This is what the commission must be. Witnesses would be examined and cross-examined. I believe in a commission. I don't like to read newspaper statements; they are not always true. But a commission going out from this Sociological Society would not be a commission that would furnish a minority report. The other three would not be a factor. I do not think President Roosevelt would appoint men who were not friendly to a race just trying to do what is right before the country. The commission must report to the President, and Congress would be obliged to take judicial notice.

MR. GORHAM:

I agree with those that favor a commission that would report conditions. And I agree with Mr. Daniels that this thing won't do itself, bills won't pass themselves, committees go to sleep. There are some who will be afraid that they won't get the votes of the South. You have no vote in the South at this time. Whether you have any desire to have your cause presented so that the Fifteenth Amendment will not be sent out of sight and out of existence, it can no more be removed than one of the Ten Commandments be erased. God has preserved public virtue enough even in this country to prevent that. There are forty-five States in the Union and only one more than one-fourth of them will prevent it. Your amendment is in danger from false legislation in the South, edging up to it but escaping it, while all the time they are pressing its repeal. The Supreme Court is the commission you wish to appeal to. Now the greatest piece of business this Conference ought to do is by a vote to direct the attention of its executive committee or of the Sociological Society to the matter which is to be argued on January 4th. Take care that it is not perfunctorily argued. You have good lawyers. *You have no question that compares with it in importance.* I beg of you to see to it that the lawyers in the case are consulted by members of this Conference, whether they want any help or not. They may be sufficient to do this work but they might call to their assistance men of breadth and judgment. Suppose Joseph Choate were here instead of in London, it would be great to have him. Your great Fifteenth Amendment is like a jewel down in the mud; it has been pretty well covered over. What you want to do is to get your executive committee, or your chairman, to get the men together and say this is the pressing case. I beg that you will feel this strongly. I feel it strongly. I would always vote and speak for right as though I myself were of African blood, and I have done it, and I am doing it now, this moment, because I feel as if I were one of you, and I urge you not to let this final opportunity go. You can't adopt another Amendment and you can't save this unless you stand by it. The support given you by the Republican party is not the support you want. You do not want to give your support to any men who care nothing about you. The great bulk care everything about the right of this question, but there are a great many fat rats in the cheese. There are hundreds of thousands of Republican votes; let them speak for you. Don't befriend anybody who won't defend you. Let them do something. Let the Republicans understand and the Democrats understand that there is a great voting strength in this country that will strike hard for its rights and will neglect any who neglect them. Find out whether they are violating the laws on their statute book or not.

HON. JOHN C. DANCY:

I am in favor of the commission. I am pleased with what I have heard here. It is the proper appeal to make in order to have ourselves secure in the enjoyment of our rights. I think that we can do something for

ourselves. I think that the thing to do is to have the Nation once for all to understand that we know our rights and that we will not be satisfied until we are in the full enjoyment of them. Now and then we hear leading white men asserting that colored men are entitled to all the privileges and immunities of anybody else in this country. I believe that. A great many do not believe it. A great many believe that colored men are not entitled to the rights given to them by the amendments to the Constitution. This organization must help to set the American mind right on this question. If our Constitution means anything at all, it means that all men, without respect to race, condition or religion, shall be respected and recognized as men. If our Constitution means anything, it means that the rights of all men must be safeguarded. I want to thank these gentlemen who organized this Conference for being able to gather about us the best and broadest minds, not merely of the Negro race, but of the white race as well, and these best minds have been here to point out to us the necessary things to be done to help us in the solution of this the Nation's greatest problem. This problem must be solved along Christian lines, along the lines of the Golden Rule. If we could get away from political lines based primarily on race lines, that moment we would fight along Christian lines, and there would soon be no problem at all. All party lines should be higher than the race lines. As we have to deal with all races we must deal with them justly, and doing this we would solve the vexed problem. This country is made up of all races for a single purpose, to bring about that condition referred to in the Scriptures when the millennium shall dawn upon us, when the lion and the lamb should lie down together, when peace and concord shall everywhere exist, and there shall be a common recognition of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

To this end the best heart and best mind of both races must find a common ground of agreement, and make that ground the basis of all future action for a general betterment of existing conditions. We must come and reason together. In essentials there must be unity, in non-essentials liberty, but in all things charity. Whatever evils exist we must apply ourselves to remedy, whatever wounds to heal, and whatever prejudices to remove. A commission made up of the conservative and thoughtful minds of both races to study the situation everywhere and point out the needs in order to a remedy, as also to note the progress of the race in whatever State or section, would aid greatly in averting the crisis now impending.

EX-GOVERNOR P. B. S. PINCHBACK:

My friend, at one time Secretary of the Senate of the United States, made my speech. I do not believe that a gathering of friends of the race, both white and colored, can perform a more important duty than to impress upon themselves and upon those that they represent the necessity of seeing that these cases before the Supreme Court of the United States do not go by default. Therein lies the kernel of the whole question.

Mr. Gorham made a motion to the effect that the chairman, secretary and Ex-Governor Pinchback be appointed a committee to wait upon Attorney-General Knox to ascertain whether it is in the line of his duty to appear in the Supreme Court on the 4th of January to defend the Constitution of the United States against the attacks made upon the Fifteenth Amendment.

The motion was carried.

The committee as appointed consists of Hon. George H. White, Prof. Kelly Miller, Ex-Governor Pinchback, Gen. William Birney and Hon. George C. Gorham.

Motion was made and carried that the members of the Conference call upon the President Thursday, Nov. 12, at 12 o'clock, noon.

There was a suggestion here that the same committee be directed to urge the confirmation of Mr. Crum, but it was made plain that the lines upon which the Conference assembled were too broad to admit of any such recommendation.

Just before closing the Committee on Resolutions brought in their report; it was read by Gen. Birney, Chairman.

It was decided to take a recess until Thursday at 2 o'clock to consider the report.

Meeting adjourned.

At the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, Wednesday, November 11, 1903.

By Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey,

Rector of St. Andrew's P. E. Church, Rochester, New York.

THE DUTY OF THE WHITE MAN OF THE NORTH TO THE BLACK MAN OF THE SOUTH.

Mr. President, men and women, citizens of the United States, without regard to sex or age or race:

I stand before you tonight with a deep sense of personal responsibility. I am here to speak to you a word. And of all the forces that operate in this universe of ours none is more powerful than a spoken word. Every word truly spoken, is possessed of creative energy. It is like that word of God by which the heavens were made. It changes conditions and makes all things new. The importance of the spoken word may be easily seen from the fact that our Christian religion and our present civilization had their origin in the word of Christ. Our churches rest upon His word as upon a sure foundation, and unless He and His apostles, evangelists and doctors had spoken the word that was given them to speak, much that we now hold dear would never have had any being at all. Seeing that a word is so mighty for good or ill, no man should speak but with a deep sense of accountability for every word that he utters.

And I am here not only to speak, but to speak upon the most important subject that can engage the thoughts of the American people at the present time. We are not here to discuss any abstract question, but to deal with a pressing emergency. Our theme is, our duty in a crisis in our na-

tional history. While we are talking others are acting, and unless our words lead to action, they are not words at all, but mere sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. So I speak to you in the spirit and power of St. Peter, hoping to arouse you to a sense of your imminent danger and to wring from you the cry, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?"

My sense of responsibility is deepened by the fact that I have already spoken in this place, and not without consequences to myself and to interests which I hold dear. Some of you may remember that about two years ago I made in this place a constitutional defence of the race to which the most of you belong, and that I presented in this city the doctrine that, in the kingdom of God, there is neither white nor black, bond nor free, but all are one in Christ Jesus. For uttering that defence and for preaching that doctrine, I was called in question, and mildly admonished by those high in authority in that religious society to which I belong. I was told, in effect, to mind my own business, and leave these matters to men better informed than myself. It was hinted to me that the City of Washington, the capital city of the great American Republic, was no place to preach the first principles of the doctrine of Christ, or to give utterance to the fundamental principles of American polity. Such utterance and such preaching are, I have been told, dangerous to the peace of the church and of the nation. Now I wish to say that, though I live far away, in a remote county of the State of New York, and so, may be presumed to be ignorant of what is the prevailing sentiment in this part of the country, yet I have given my life to a study of the principles of God's eternal righteousness, as expounded by my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, and, as a result of this study I dare to say, that any man, no matter how high he may be placed in the church, though he be a mitered bishop on his throne, who tries to square the circle of God's eternal righteousness, and to draw around it the lines of race prejudice and class distinction, is false to

the gospel of Christ and disloyal to the kingdom of God. And as for the danger of such utterances as I have made in this place, I only wish I could make them more dangerous:—for truth is always dangerous to the stability of a society based upon injustice. I wish my words could kindle a fire that could not be quenched until that spirit of inequality and intolerance which now disturbs the peace of the American people were burnt and purged away. I am here, therefore, not only to speak the words already spoken in this place, but to add to them many like words.

I was not only called in question for my last utterance by ecclesiastical authority, but also by the genial writer who writes in "Harper's Weekly" of "This Busy World." This writer used that great organ, that journal of civilization, to hold me and my teaching up to moral reprobation. He objected to that part of my address in which I told the Negro race that if they would have their rights they must be ready to fight for them and to die for them. One expression in my Constitutional Defense which "Harper's Weekly" severely criticised I wish to withdraw. I used the expression "rivers of blood." I now withdraw that expression, not because it is false doctrine, but because it is bad rhetoric. As for the doctrine, that if men are to have their rights in this world they must be ready to fight and die for them, I had always supposed, until the great journal of civilization read me a lesson to the contrary, that this was the one truth taught by the whole history of mankind. To go no further, I will ask my critics to what does the Anglo-Saxon owe his civil rights and political liberties? Were they thrust upon him by his generous rulers, or did he win them at the edge of the sword? Was it not on such bloody fields as Marston Moor, Bunker Hill and Gettysburg that the Anglo-Saxon won and held his liberties, and is he, who has resented to the death the least infringement of his rights, the one to counsel base submission to another people? In my counsel given to you I did not urge you to take up arms

in assertion of your rights. I set before you that better way of passive resistance by which the Christian religion won its way in the world. I said: "Do not kill but be killed." Where would be the rights of conscience today if whole generations of Christians had not been ready to die, and did not actually die, for the right to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience? It was the blood of the martyrs that was the seed of the church. And now at this late day one is called in question for stating so simple a principle as this, upon which all the honor that we accord to heroes and martyrs is based. Nothing can show more sadly than the words of this kindly, genial man how far we have departed from the high ideal of human life which once was ours; how we have set safety above sanctity, ease above freedom, and earthly security above divine right. You are bidden, my friends, to be quiet while political highwaymen rob you of your political liberties and your civil rights, while your wives and your children are insulted, while you are hunted by bloodhounds and burned at the stake. If you are quiet and submissive under such treatment, then this, your last state, is worse than the first. The war that secured your freedom was not only a mistake, it was a crime, and it will be better for you and your children to go back into the bondage from which you came out. Better be the slave of one man than the serf of a community.

The rebuke of my former utterance was based upon the fact that I was a Northern man interfering in the domestic concerns of the South. We of the North are told that these matters of the disfranchisement of the black man and his civil wrongs are purely and wholly Southern, and are to be settled by the Southern white man, without interference or advice from the white man of the North. To this we answer that, as men and as Christians, it is our duty to protest against wrong wherever and by whomsoever committed. And, as citizens of the United States, we are called upon to protect, as far as it lies in our power, the humblest of our

fellow-citizens in the rights and privileges guaranteed to him by the Constitution and laws of our common country.

This cry of "let us alone" is a very old cry; we remember it in the days of slavery, when an arrogant aristocracy attempted to curb the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press; when the men of the North were told that the domestic institutions of the South were sacred; not to be touched by unholy hands. But this attempt on the part of the Southern slaveholder to still the voice of indignant protest was unavailing. From Boston the words of Garrison and Phillips roused the Northern conscience to life and action. Nor was there any cessation to the agitation, until, under the leadership of the gaunt and melancholy Lincoln, human slavery, that cherished domestic institution of the South, was destroyed. Nor will there be any cessation of agitation now, until the end for which the great Civil War was fought is accomplished, until every American citizen is secured in the full exercise of all the rights and privileges of citizenship. We of the North are deeply concerned in what affects the welfare and permanence of our republican institutions. And, until a better condition exists in the South, we shall consider it our bounden duty to make our voice to be heard in the street.

THE NEGRO'S RIGHTS AS A MAN.

The discussion of the duty of the white man of the North to the black man of the South rests upon the assumption that the Negroid * is a man. But this assertion can be made only in the face of denial. There be those who assert that the Negroid does not belong to the human family. This contention is maintained in a book largely circulated in the South, which is entitled, "The Negro A Beast." In this infamous book it is said that the Negro is an animal endowed by a beneficent Creator with the human

*I used this word to designate all those who are of African descent—whether of pure or mixed blood.

form and with certain human faculties in order that he may be the more useful to his white master. And you, my friends, can have no notion how widespread this doctrine is and how it is taking possession of the minds of a large section of the Northern people. Even at this moment the great publishing house of Doubleday, Page & Co., of New York, is issuing an edition de luxe of "Dixon's Leopards Spots," a book hardly less infamous than the one already mentioned, which teaches with a malignity that is almost devilish contempt and hatred of the Negroid as one who is not and never can be a human being in the same sense that the White man is human. In view of these facts it is high time for you to rouse yourselves to a sense of the danger that threatens you and your children. The doctrine of your degradation is now being preached as if it were the gospel. We are face to face with the crucial question of the essential manhood of your race. Is my honored host, the rector of St. Luke's Church, a man? Is the president of this meeting a man? Is Dr. Grimke, the learned and eloquent pastor and preacher, a man? Or are these simply brute beasts, endowed by a beneficent Creator with the human form and with human facilities for the greater service of their white masters? Is my gracious hostess of last evening, the principal of Patterson school, a woman, or is she, together with all her dark-skinned sisters, an animal, endowed with the form and functions of womanhood in order that she may be the more useful to her white master; that she may cook his food, suckle his children, and, in the language of Prof. DuBois, "bow her body to his lust?" To ask this question is to answer it. You are animals, as we all are, but you are also of that divine dust into which the Creator has breathed a living soul. You are made in the image of God. And woe unto him who wantonly degrades or defaces that image.

And if men, then you have the rights of a man, and the first of these is the right to live. Your life as a man is secured by divine and human laws. If your life is taken

away from you by violence, then the men by whom you are killed are murderers, and must answer with their lives for their crime to the law of the State. But, alas for the integrity of the law, today in the Southern section of our country the killing of a black man is looked upon as if it were the killing of an ox. The lynching bee calls the people together as if it were a bull fight. Hardly a day passes in which some black man does not lose his life by lawless violence. And this indifference to human life and contempt of human and divine law is spreading from the South to the West and the North, and is threatening the very existence of the Government under which we live. A government that cannot protect the lives of its citizens has ceased to be a government. It is anarchy, and such a condition of anarchy now prevails in a large number of our States, which, unless it is checked, will prevail in them all. And in due time this anarchy will breed its opposite, which is despotism, and all our liberties will perish. The North, the South, the East and the West are alike concerned in bringing the present state of lawlessness to an end, for upon this depends our salvation. In the sight of the law the life of the poorest black baby is as precious as the life of the President of the United States. To kill the one is murder no less than the killing of the other, and murder, no matter upon whom or by whom it is done, must be punished and checked if society is to survive.

If the Negroid is a man he has not only the right to live but the right to live as he pleases, provided he does not interfere with the equal rights of others. He is to be at liberty to order his own life in accordance with his own judgment. If he labors he has the right to the fruits of his labor, to use them as he thinks best. Without this liberty human life is not worth the living. When Patrick Henry exclaimed "Give me liberty or give me death!" he was not indulging in turgid rhetoric, but was giving expression to the words of truth and soberness. Death is always to be chosen be-

fore slavery. It is better for a man to be free among the dead than to live in base subjection on the earth. And if there is anything that could give credence to the doctrine that the black man is not really a man it would be his willingness to live in a state of chattel slavery. And until he is ready to cry with Patrick Henry, Give me liberty or give me death, he is not ready to enter into the highest privileges and perform the most sacred duties of manhood.

With his life and liberty every man has the right to human respect. He is not to be degraded in his own eyes or in the eyes of others. It is his liability to personal degradation that makes the life of the slave so intolerable. A man or a woman who can, at the will of another, be beaten like a dog will soon become as a dog. And to this indignity every black man and woman was subject whenever he or she incurred the capricious anger of the master who held them in bondage. A friend of mine, a gracious woman, told me that when she was a girl she lived with her grandfather, a slave owner, in the State of Maryland, and it was a common thing for her grandfather, if his food was not cooked to his taste, to call the black woman from the kitchen and whip her in the presence of his family. It is over a civilization where such outrages upon human nature were possible and common that writers of the genius of Thomas Nelson Page are throwing the charm of romance. We have a picture, all grace and chivalry; gallants riding to the hunt and beauties to the dance. The reader is never reminded that this charming society lived upon the unrequited toil of the slave, and that in the cabin behind the mansion was a woman who had been whipped because she had failed to satisfy the fastidious taste of her master, or a man beaten for some slight fault or failure in his work. Under such treatment manhood can never survive. With the lash you can drive out all sense of honor and of shame, and make the man or woman a mere whimpering, cringing animal; a liar and a thief.

The whip has been taken out of the hands of the white man in the South, but he still finds a way to stamp the black man with the badge of inferiority. We have the Jim Crow car, as it is contemptuously called, and every other contrivance to keep "the nigger" in his place. No distinction is made between the educated gentleman and the poor and the criminal. Booker Washington or Professor DuBois are treated with the same indignity that is heaped upon the commonest tramp from the street. And for one I am glad that these distinguished men have the lot of the lowest of their race, for in that fact I see the only hope of that race's future development and salvation. And here I wish to say that in this respect the people of the North are far more guilty than the people of the South. Without the excuse of the Southern white man, the man of the North gives way to race prejudice and treats the colored man with an insolence and contempt that is galling. And then the white man is angry because the colored man is impertinent. How long will it take us to learn that we will always get what we give, and that the impertinence of the black man is the natural result of the insolence of the white man?

But worst of all, this race prejudice has found its way into the churches, so that we have Jim Crow churches and Jim Crow altars, and a man may not preach from the pulpit the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. Under such circumstances it is the duty of every man North and South who believes in the essential manhood of the Negroid races to assert his belief, by word and deed, in season and out of season. In this cause a man must defy unholy prejudice and scorn unrighteous laws. We should never rest until every law that draws the color line is taken off the statute books, and every man, white and black, is equal before the law.

THE NEGRO'S RIGHTS AS A CITIZEN.

The Negro is not only a man, he is also a citizen of the United States and of the State in which he resides; and, as

a citizen, he is not only entitled to the protection of the law, but also to share in the making and the execution of the law. He, under our system of government, is one of the sovereign people, the source of all law, the basis of all authority. The American Republic is a government of the people by the people. There is no privileged class, no ruling aristocracy. The power of the Nation is vested in the whole people, acting through the men who are of legal age. For many generations simple manhood suffrage has been the guiding principle of American policy. It is under the rule of that policy that the North and West have grown great and populous. Wherever you find restraint upon suffrage, there you are sure to find a backward civilization. It is only when all men are actively interested in public affairs that public affairs are wisely conducted. It takes all the people to care for all the people. So greatly does the American spirit abhor non-citizenship, that it grants this right at the earliest possible moment to the foreigner and the stranger, and does not, except as a last resort, withhold it from the dissolute and the lawless.

The citizenship of the Negroid races follows naturally upon the assertion of their manhood. If they are men they are citizens, bound to perform all the duties and entitled to all the privileges of citizenship. That the Negro is bound to perform all the duties of citizenship every one, even the most rabid Negro hater in the South, admits. No one has as yet asserted that the Negro is to pay no taxes and is not to be called upon to fight for his country in time of war. As a matter of fact the Negro is paying taxes on hundreds of millions of property; and it was the Negro that went before Roosevelt up San Juan hill. The Negro is a good enough citizen to tax and good enough to make a soldier of, but in the estimation of the radical element in the South, he is not and never will be a good enough citizen to vote or to have a part in carrying on the Government under which he lives. He is to be governed

without his consent and to be taxed without representation. This denial of the citizenship of the Negro is essentially the denial of his manhood. It is the firm conviction of many in the South that he cannot be a citizen because he is not a man.

And many leaders in the North are following the South in this way of thinking. Men of whom one would have expected better things. Men who are leaders in the Republican party, which in the last generation, as a matter of logical necessity, clothed the Negro with the rights and duties of citizenship—even these are denying the faith of the fathers, and are aiding the dominant element in the South to depress, oppress and degrade the Negro. This was the effect of that unhappy speech made by Dr. Lyman Abbott in the city of Richmond at the time of the meeting of the Southern Education Board.* It was in this speech that he enunciated his now famous doctrine of "Manhood first and Suffrage afterwards." A mere truism if taken literally. But the eloquent speaker defined manhood in terms of perfect self control and high intelligence. The State very wisely defines manhood for purposes of citizenship in the lowest terms. A man who has intelligence enough to keep out of an idiot or lunatic asylum and sufficient self control to keep out of jail is, in the more advanced and prosperous communities of the United States, clothed with all the rights of an American citizen, and is the equal at the polls of the college president and the newspaper editor. If the doctrine of the distinguished speaker at the Richmond Conference were strictly applied in the North as in the South, citizenship in the United States would shrink to very small dimensions. A handful of college professors, of railroad presidents and of newspaper editors would rule the country, and of these many would be found wanting if their manhood were defined in terms of perfect self control and unclouded intelligence.

* May 1903.

But what made the speech in question so cruel was the fact that the speaker knew and his hearers knew that it could not be of universal application. In the speaker's own home, in the city of New York, that doctrine would not defeat; it would annihilate any political party professing it. That utterance was made in the presence of a brilliant audience, composed of the wealth and the culture of the capital city of the late Confederate States of America, and it was felt by the audience to be a justification of that attitude of mind which of old enslaved and has now disfranchised the Negro and placed upon him the badge of social inferiority. The effect of the speech was immediately apparent. I was sitting in the midst of the black folk in that small space in the upper gallery of the theater into which they were roped like so many beasts. As the speaker went on I saw their sad, hopeless faces become sadder and more hopeless, while down below the white people cheered the speaker to the echo, and a white man sitting next me, just outside the color rope, a man stained with tobacco juice, smote his knees and cried, as the reverend speaker closed his eloquent address, "Well, now those men from the North are larnin' somethin'." Yes, indeed, the men from the North are 'larnin' somethin'. They are learning to deny the first principles of the doctrine of Christ, to trample upon the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, to make the bloodshed and the treasure expended in the late civil war to be of no effect, and to apologize for Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant.

It will be a sad day for the American Republic when they look for guidance to the cultured and the wealthy only; and despise the poor and the lowly. In all the ocean of talk which we heard at the Conference of the Southern Education Board only two sentences live in my memory as having in them the spark of divine inspiration, and they were both from Negroes. One was by an old Negro who made the prayer in John Jasper's church of a Sunday after-

noon. The man was evidently very poor. He was grey-headed and bowed with age. Slavery had been the lot of his youth and disfranchisement and civil disability the lot of his manhood and age. In the eyes of the dominant race he was a worm and no man, a very scorn of men and an outcast of the people. This man lifted up his hands in thanksgiving and he said, "We thank Thee, O most loving Father, that we is in our right senses, that we ain't in a lunatic asylum." Match that saying for depth, for beauty, for pathos in any issue of the "Outlook" if you can. The other saying was by a field hand who was a slave on a James River plantation before the war. Speaking of the war, he said, "Der was good men on bof sides, but dey didn't have 'telligence enough to think it out, and so dey had to fight it out." Again I say match that saying for wisdom and insight with the saying of any college professor on the stage of a Richmond theater if you can. Didn't have intelligence enough to think it out, so they had to fight it out. What a comment on human history. What a comment on the history of the United States during the past eight years. And yet these men in whom is the wisdom of the living God are to be denied their manhood and their citizenship, while every New York cadet and Washington grafter, who can keep out of jail, is to have his vote and hold his office. The day is coming when the men who apologize for the present injustice to the Negro race will lament the stand they have taken; they will see that it is not in conformity with the righteousness of God and dangerous to the American Commonwealth.

It is the opinion of many, even among the Negroes, and of these is the most distinguished leader* of the Negroid race, that it is well for the Negroes to forego for the present their citizenship, and not to insist upon their civil rights. This opinion is, in my judgment, fatal to the future advancement of the Negro race. Citizenship once lost is not

*Booker T. Washington.

easily recovered. The whole history of the world proves the tenacity with which the ruling classes hold on to their power. And there is no more terrific power of oppression than the power of taxation. The Americans, of all people, are best acquainted with this fact. It was to resist such oppression that they severed their ties with the mother country; fought the war of the Revolution, and established their existence as an independent Nation.

The Negro does not need to wait to see how lack of citizenship will make him the victim of unequal laws. In the city of Richmond there are forty thousand colored men, of these I am told only nine hundred can vote. With this result following white domination, namely, that the city of Richmond by ordinance forbids the employment of any colored man by the city or by any one who is working for the city. This fact I have upon information. I have not seen the ordinance with my own eyes, and I can wish for nothing better than that I might be misinformed. But I fear I am not and the law books of the fair city of Richmond are stained with this gross injustice. And such laws the Negro must expect as long as he is unable to defend himself by his vote against those who in their hearts still think of him as a slave, as one who has no rights which the white men are bound to respect. The Negro must make his choice, and make it now between citizenship and servitude. Let present forces work unmolested for another generation and servitude will be his fixed condition; citizenship to be recovered only at the expense of another civil war. Even now we are told, by those who deplore present conditions, that we of the North can do nothing without endangering the peace of the country.* We hear the old cry, you must let the South alone, or the South will fight. But that cry does not frighten us a bit. It was not General Grant who surrendered at Appomattox, it was General Lee. We hope and pray for intelligence enough to think it out,

* Mr. Edward M. Shepard in his letter to the "Evening Post."

but if the Nation is to exist, it must maintain its constitution and its laws at any cost.

I trust and pray that the better element will prevail and that the South will not follow the lead of its Tillmans and its Gormans, but will listen to such men as Mr. Edgar Murphy of Alabama, and will make its conditions of enfranchisement bear equally upon white and black, and that the whole Nation will awake to a sense of present danger before it is too late. One thing most imperative is, that the Nation should supplement the work of States in educating the illiterate masses of the South—white and black. Let us cease to build battleships and begin to build school houses. Nothing but the National Treasury can meet this national need. We are in far more danger from the foes within our borders—race hatred, ignorance and lawlessness—than we are from any foreign enemy. Indeed, unless we make them wantonly, we have no foreign foes. Our institutions are threatened from within, not from without.

It will be nothing less than a disaster if foreign complications withdraw the attention of our people wholly, from domestic problems. This matter of the equality of all men before the law, should be made the paramount issue in the coming presidential election. In some way the issue should be placed squarely before the people. The two great political parties should be asked to say in their declaration of principles, whether they will maintain the constitution and laws in their letter and spirit, or not?

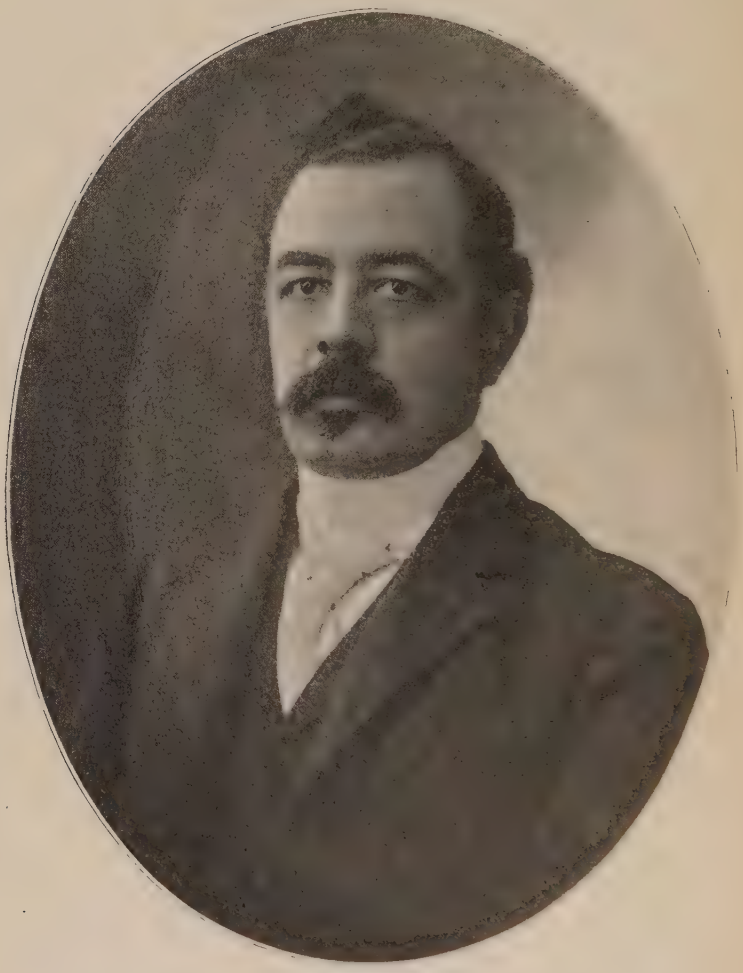
And you, my friends, must organize and act for the protection of your civil and political rights.

I would advise the organization at once, of a Negroid Protective Association or a Citizens' Protective Association, and join together in one mighty movement your whole race, from the lowest worker in the field to the professor in the college, and say that you stand one and all for your rights. Form such an organization, and form it at once, make the initiation fee, twenty-five cents, and have a million members

before the opening of the presidential campaign. Send your representatives, the very best men, white and black that you can get hold of, to speak for you to the people.

Great forces are arrayed against you, the wealth and culture of the South, the wealth and culture of the North. These conspire to deprive you of your manhood and your citizenship. But over against these are set two powers mightier than they. God and the United States. God made you men and the United States made you citizens, and the wealth and culture of North and South combined cannot undo the work of God and of the United States. You are men and you are citizens, and it is your duty to live up to your manhood and your citizenship.

Remember that you are not acting for yourselves alone, you are acting for the unborn, they who are waiting at the gates of life to enter this world. They who are children of your loins are pleading to you at this moment that you shall make this world a place in which, when they shall enter it, they shall find themselves clothed with every attribute that their nature demands. Even if untrue to yourselves, do not dare to be untrue to your unborn children. God has preserved you and us for His great purposes. May He help us to uplift all the sons of men and hasten the coming of the Kingdom of Righteousness.



J. R. WILDER, M. D.,
Member of the Committee on Hygiene and Sanitation,
National Sociological Society.

At the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, Wednesday, November 11, 1903. J. R. Wilder, M. D., Washington, D. C.

Mr. President:

The Negro, identified as he is with the great human family, is subject to the same deteriorating influences that affect his fellow-man. Hence, impure air and water, polluted soil from defective sewerage, adulterated food-stuffs, and the unhealthful conditions imposed during the school-going period of life—which are questions of public hygiene and general concern—contribute, in no small degree, to his mortality. But aside from these influences, common to all people, he is subject to others peculiar to himself, on account of the environments that govern him. The proverbial unreliability of statistics justifies the assumption that the Negro's death rate is not as great as it is said to be. The occupations of the Negro tend to keep him in the back-ground and to encourage a neglect on the part of the census enumerator to record accurately all of the Negroes in a certain locality. But the Negro dies faster than the White man, and it is not my purpose to deny it, but to recite a few of the real causes of the disparity in the cities of the South, and to show how that mortality is to be lessened.

1. American slavery, with its unparalleled cruelty and bestiality, has injured the Negro, intellectually, physically and morally. It has been claimed that the admixture of the Negro with the Caucasian has given us a resulting mulatto, weaker physically than either of the parent stock; but this statement is based upon hypothesis, and is not borne out by the facts in the case. It is true, however, that a resulting lowering of vitality has followed the admixture of "kindred blood," which was almost unavoidable during the days of slavery, as the result of certain well known

procreative practices that obtained on the part of the master and on account of the itineracy of the Negro incident to his chattelism. In "those dark days" it was hard enough for the Negro to recognize his near kin on his maternal side, and it was infinitely impossible for him to trace the "family tree" from the paternal side. The evil effects of this consequent admixture of "similar" blood cannot be denied, and must bear a modicum of responsibility for the excessive mortality of the Negro today.

2. The fact that the great majority of the Negro women in the cities of the South are compelled to work steadily even while they are enciente, doubtless often interferes with the normal development of the internal organs of their offspring, causing a lack of vitality which is not apparent to the casual observer, but which must make them an easy victim to disease.

3. The same social and economic conditions that keep the expectant mother busy with her daily labors, also abbreviate her "lying-in period," which not only weakens her physically, but deprives her newly born offspring of its natural food—thus consigning it to an infant's grave, or so debilitating it that it succumbs to the first disease with which it becomes affected. It is bad enough to be bottle fed, physiologists tell us, but it is infinitely worse to be hand-fed. The majority of the Negroes in the Southland are hand-fed from birth with food decidedly improper both as to quality and quantity, thus making defective the very substructure of their being. Is it any wonder that such a people die faster than another people, who nurse their young or have it done, or who give them pure cow's milk modified scientifically, or other artificial infant food prepared skilfully amid the best sanitary environments?

4. The early motherhood of the Negro has its evil effects. The proper age for a woman to become a mother is at twenty-five years, and usually before that time development is not complete, and the whole organism is in a transition

state. It is equally true that the use of any organ before it has attained its complete growth or development is damaging to that organ and interferes with its normal function, and "we cannot but believe that children developed in immature sexual organs must be deficient in true vital force and energy. It is often noticeable that a child apparently strong and vigorous, may have but little power to resist disease, or may even be strongly predisposed to some infirmity." The colored women in the section under discussion who become mothers, are usually multiporæ long before the twenty-fifth year.

5. The element of overwork must come in for its increment of responsibility in the excessive mortality of the Negro. While deficiency in exercise favors a lack of nutrition conducive to wasting in size, on the other hand, too much work favors hypertrophy of vital organs and tissue degeneration. The average healthy man should work about eight hours per day, and "should do work to the equivalent of 150 foot-tons daily." The American Negro's working hours, as a rule, are regulated, if at all, by the exigencies of the work to be performed, as it appears to an exacting employer.

6. The kind of work performed by Negroes in the Southern cities includes all menial occupations, which conduce to accident and exposure. The death rate among the laboring class of any community, irrespective and independent of its nationality, is necessarily greater than that of the well-to-do leisure class.

7. The manner of living of the majority of colored people in the cities of the South—which is sometimes the progeny of ignorance, but oftener the result of necessity—is responsible, in a large measure, for their high mortality. They are crowded together on back streets, in lanes and ill-smelling bottoms, near ponds of stagnant water, on the banks of rivers—where their scanty means consign them. The ignorant among them, like the ignorant among any other people,

ignore the teachings of hygiene, because they are ignorant, and not because they are black. They do not know the value of fresh air and sunlight and cleanliness, and hence are ignorant of the fatality attached to the unholy trinity—darkness, dampness and dirt, which is responsible for the tuberculosis that is charged to their "inherent tendencies." The pittance that is paid to the Negro in the name of wages forces him to crowd together in narrow and ill-ventilated sleeping apartments, which is decidedly unhealthful and favors the spread of contagious diseases. The smallpox spreads rapidly in a Negro settlement, not because they are Negroes, but because their manner of living brings them into the most intimate contact with one another, so that whatever disease attacks one rapidly spreads to all the others who are not immune.

The lack of suitable clothing and proper food, as a result of poverty, weakens the Negro physically. The neglect of the bath, through lack of time, is responsible for much of the heart, kidney and skin diseases so prevalent among the laboring classes of the colored people. It takes time to keep clean, and the laborer has no leisure. Ignorance of the seriousness of certain diseases, like syphilis, scrofula and rheumatism, has played an important rôle in the drama of his mortality.

8. Another fruitful cause of his excessive mortality arises out of his *struggle for existence.* The exigencies of life are such with him that he does not heed the admonitions of nature made manifest in the early symptoms of disease, so that unwittingly he becomes habituated to discomfort and pain. When the common Negro laborer lays aside his implements of labor on account of sickness, the disease with which he is affected is well founded and passed beyond the abortive and often the curative stage, and very frequently when medical advice is obtained, it is of the dispensary or "physician to the poor" type, which too often savors of unconcern, inexperience and incompetency.

9. The prevalent habit among the colored people of taking patented cure-all nostrums, which contain narcotics that insidiously benumb the sensibilities and mask the symptoms of disease, would naturally contribute to the mortality of any people.

10. Not the least fruitful of all of the causes of the Negro's excessive mortality, is the lack of resistance to disease, engendered by the social conditions which obtain in the Southland. There he is so oppressed and persecuted that he finds himself not only an easy prey to disease, but an early victim to death. He has little to live for, and his religion promises him much after death, which, in a sense, he welcomes as a relief from his trials and troubles. This statement will not appear exaggerated when one considers the powerful influence that the mind has over the body. A cheerful, hopeful, contented mind, predisposes to a healthy body, and conversely, a discontented and despairful mind interferes with the vital functions and invites disease and death.

11. Lastly, in the consideration of the relatively high mortality of the Negro in the cities of the South considerable weight must be given to the contracted death rate of the Whites, due to their superior social and financial condition. Their environments are, as a rule, as healthful as education can suggest and as money can obtain, and when disease overtakes them they combat it not only with the skill of science, but with the power of will. The incentives of life, so lacking for the colored people, are theirs in all of their plentitude. The earth is theirs and the fulness thereof, and there is no power therein that they may not covet. This feeling, this knowledge, becomes a vis-a-mente that proves a potential factor in their struggle with disease. Despite this powerful influence, however, and because of it, the morbidity of the White man in this country is great. I venture the assertion that his morbidity far exceeds that of the Negro—not because he is more prone to disease, but be-

cause he is enabled to live longer with disease on account of the influences to which allusion has already been made. The plain fact is the Negro dies sooner and the White man lives longer with disease, which presents the unique question: Is it not more advantageous to the public good to die of a disease and be buried safely and deeply beneath the soil than to live with it and thus increase the opportunities of disseminating it?

12. The remedies for the excessive mortality of the Negro in the cities of the South are self-evident. He is a man, and identical with other men structurally, so that whatever is health giving and life lengthening for other civilized peoples is health giving and life lengthening for him. To be specific, his greatest need is an increase of knowledge along the line of hygiene and a studious application of that knowledge. He must not only be taught to run the race of life intelligently, but he must not be hindered in the process of his running. He must know the life to lead, and then lead it. In this he must have the liberal co-oporation of his employer, and his brother-in-white generally. He must be paid in accordance with the labor that he performs, and must be allowed an equitable participation in the every-day affairs of life.

DANIEL MURRAY,
Assistant Librarian of Congress.
Member of the Commission on the Race Problem,
National Sociological Society.

Session of Thursday, Nov. 12.

The Conference was opened by the president, Hon. Geo. H. White, and prayer offered by Rev. W. V. Tunnell, A. M.

On the introduction of members, Mr. Daniel Murray spoke as follows:

The Necessity for the Appointment of a Commission to Consider Every Phase of the American Race Problem. By Daniel Murray, Assistant Librarian of Congress.

Mr. President:

Availing myself of this opportunity, I wish to submit a few remarks on the subject of the proposed inquiry under Congressional authority by a Commission into the condition of the colored people throughout the land, particularly in the Southern States.

And even now the wisdom of further argument in behalf of that which is so self-apparent, may be questioned. However, I cannot contentedly allow this pregnant opportunity to pass without putting on record my unqualified approval of the proposition to gather authoritatively, and under the auspices of the Government, this information. It is indeed a hopeful sign, the force of which cannot be overlooked, that in so large a body as this Society, and where opinions differ so radically on every other topic, that such unanimity of sentiment should prevail as to the necessity of gathering the information as suggested by this inquiry, and that the only difference that has thus far arisen relates to the method rather than to the proposition itself.

On the race problem, as it is called, there has been much discussion, but this Society will not have met public expectations unless it proposes, before closing its sessions, some

practical solution of the ever-present problem. It is not reserved to any one to do this off hand, but each may properly offer a plan, and from the features of the many plans it may be possible to evolve something substantial. To reach the end I have set forth, it follows that a full and comprehensive inquiry along the lines indicated by the Irwin Bill of the Fifty-seventh Congress is absolutely necessary, since first we must dispassionately know the reasons that make both sides discontented and learn from each what in his view will remove the discontent.

I believe the solution lies in the field of emigration; that is, induce those affected by unjust laws to seek those sections of the country that offer the greatest inducement in the matter of just treatment. This view is greatly strengthened by the published account of the Farmers' Annual Meeting this month in North Carolina. Ex-Senator Ransom, who presided, said: "That the greatest problem confronting the farmers of North Carolina, one that seriously threatened the prosperity of the State, was the unrest and disposition of the colored people in large numbers to leave the State," and added that he could not tell why they were dissatisfied. The Senator might have solved the problem confronting the North Carolina farmers by suggesting an inquiry as to the treatment accorded the discontented by the very men who deplored so loudly their disposition to emigrate, and if they are not aware of the reasons for discontent among the laboring force of their communities such an inquiry, with full publication, would serve to enlighten them. I have noted carefully the tendency of the several Southern States to deal harshly with emigration agents seeking labor in the localities where the accounts of ill-treatment to the colored people indicated that such agents might find a full supply, and I believe I find in such attitude the means of securing better treatment for those now affected. The States have passed laws requiring such agents to pay a license of $1,000 annually, and, not content with this large demand on the

agents, the planters have threatened their lives if they attempted to work under such license. Now, what does this indicate to us? It shows that when confronted with the alternative of either dealing fairly with their laborers, the best in the world, or losing them, those who are largely now indifferent about the treatment accorded them will awaken to their own interest and insist that every just ground of complaint be remedied.

In 1875, when the unrest in the South was very manifest and there was no little apprehension among the Southern Whites that the Negro being free would seek better conditions, Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, speaking for the South at a largely attended convention, and receiving the assent unanimously of the South's representatives, promised to secure to the black man of moral worth every privilege enjoyed by the white man. And the convention in its platform said:

"We recognize and will maintain the civil and political equality of all men as established by the Constitution of the United States and the Amendments thereto."

Again on August 2, 1876, Mr. Lamar, in the House of Representatives, speaking for the South said:

"Whatever may be the future administration of this country, freedom, citizenship and suffrage are established institutions * * * recognized in all statutes, Federal and State, accepted and acted upon by all the people. You have given the black man the most delicate, the most dangerous as well as the most sacred of all privileges. Let that privilege be maintained inviolably."

Three years later when the conditions in the South again became very acute the colored people began the Exodus, as it was called; a movement which promised more for the black man of the South than any other one thing since emancipation. The South was up in arms, fear was pictured in every gathering. Congress was appealed to in the effort to stop the discontent, and Mr. B. K. Bruce was put

at the head of a committee designed to investigate the cause of the exodus and to allay the fears of the black people that their rights were being invaded. Then followed ten years of comparative peace, or until it was seen that no amount of harsh treatment would drive the Negro away, and when this fact became apparent, that element of the population who had been, through self interest, in a large measure his defence against outrage, gave up all further concern about him, and then began the enactment of the series of laws which today oppress him and deny him justice.

It is impossible to secure better conditions for the colored people in the South unless some penalty is put on those who treat them harshly. Now, what penalty can be devised, what means of redress is within the control of the colored people themselves? I know of but one. That is to seek homes for the discontented in some section of the land where a higher appreciation is manifested for the principles of the Christian religion and Christian civilization. Joel Chandler Harris, one of the most astute observers of public opinion in this country, and particularly in the South, speaking of the chimerical proposition of John Temple Graves to deport the Negroes, said:

"If there were any movement on foot looking seriously to the deportation of the Negro a furious protest would arise from all quarters of the South, and if such a movement turned out to be reasonably successful a blow would be struck at the material and industrial interest of the South from which it would not recover in a generation."

It is with this knowledge in view I urge the members of this Society to press upon Congress the necessity of making an inquiry into the causes of race friction, and to seek the means of their removal.

The resolutions* were taken up for consideration, and at the conclusion of the reading of the same Dr. Babbitt spoke as follows:

* For the resolutions see page 3.

REV. DEAN RICHMOND BABBITT:

Possibly the committee has overlooked a very practical step. I would suggest an additional, a practical need. Your committee cannot think of everything, so I submit the following resolution (I don't know from a parliamentary point of view whether a motion has been duly seconded and is before the house or not) that a Commission of six be now and hereby constituted by this Conference, consisting of special students of the Negro problem, and of both races equally, three of the White and three of the Negro race, for the purpose of co-operating with such commission as may be appointed by the Government, and for setting plans, arguments and efforts for the solution of the Race Problem before the general public and before the Government.*

The great danger is this, that in asking for the appointment of a Commission by Congress or the Government to consider this proposition, that we are dealing with the politicians, and the politician on moral issues is not likely to take a stand. If he has convictions he keeps them under lock and key, and it is really necessary, in these days of strenuosity, or of more or less social and political peril, that there should be some under-body created by this Conference for the purpose of keeping alive the cause and efforts for it, and if a Commission be appointed by the Government, of seeing that such Commission has facts, has arguments, and of conferring with the Commission upon matters that are presented to it. This body would have for its purpose the pushing forward of the Government Commission, and of keeping the thing before the public and of seeking methods, means and devising ways for the continual help of the race and for the solution of this tremendous race problem. I submit this as a practical thing to this Conference.

DR. CORROTHERS:

I am opposed to the eighth proposition, (see page 5) on the ground that it is in reality not true. Take Georgia, for instance. Thirty-three per cent. of all the money spent upon the schools of Georgia is paid by the colored citizens themselves. What is the use of attributing to the South what everyone will construe to imply that the Southern men are spending all this money, which is absolutely untrue. What is true in Georgia is true in other sections. We go to the South to make comments on the liberality of the South towards the Negro, in the face of the fact that all the Southern States have absolutely disfranchised the Negroes, and in six or seven of them have cut down the school term from nine months to three; to send out to the world such a report would make the Conference sycophants. In some places the term is but six weeks. Shall we send out a report to the world that "we have confidence in the South" when in reality they are taxing the Negroes to educate themselves and are taking away the schools? We must send out a fair report. We stand opposed to it. Also in this same proposition reference is made to Hampton and Tuskegee. Why refer to these two schools which stand simply for the farmer when there

* See page 6; resolution 16.

are others which are doing a great work? We should make no reference to the South at all unless it is made upon honest and fair principles. We should not send out any great comment upon Tuskegee or any other school unless others are mentioned. Don't leave out the colleges that stand for the higher education.

REV. O. M. WALLER: I beg to amend that the resolutions be adopted section by section.

The motion before the house was adopted as amended.

Section I. A motion was made that the committee prepare a preamble, with the suggestion that it ought to be brought out very distinctly that this Conference was not composed entirely of colored men, but also of distinguished men of both races, and that these resolutions proceeded from a body composed of white and colored citizens. The motion was carried, and the committee were directed to take this into consideration.

Section I. Read and adopted.*

Section II. Objection was made by Mr. Tunnell that it is somewhat indefinite to speak about "the law of the land." "There are as many laws of the land as there are States in the Union," said he. "There is an ambiguity in that statement that ought to be cleared up."

Motion was made that some reference be made to the Constitution of the United States.

PROF. JESSE LAWSON:

This thing wasn't done without due consideration. Note the system. In the first place we lay down the duty of the citizen to the Government; that is fundamental. In the second place we lay down the correlative duty of the Government to the citizen. In making that declaration we did not enter into argument, we simply declared plain facts in plain English. Now when we say "the Government" we mean all the machinery of the Government, and if we were to enter into a ponderosity of particularity we would make ourselves cumbersome, we would make ourselves useless. We would assume that the people to whom this is to be intrusted had not the ordinary intelligence to comprehend a plain statement of facts. After due deliberation and taking into consideration all that the thing implies, we have given you a plain statement of facts. If you will read it and digest it you will not want to encumber it with anything else.

*See page 3.

HON. GEORGE C. GORHAM:

The law of the land has a definite meaning. In referring to the Government the United States Government is meant, and "the law of the land" means the Constitution of the United States and its laws, and every law that conflicts with this is no law at all.

PROF. GEORGE WILLIAM COOK:

There are five sources of law in the United States. The supreme law of the land is the Constitution of the United States, the statutes, the Constitutions of the States and what there is left of common law. "The law" might be used to comprehend them all. It must mean the law which operates against you from any source. We are to have protection from the sources of protection. The law of the land is synonymous with the due process of law.

MR. LAWSON: As defined by Daniel Webster "the law of the land is that which proceeds upon inquiry, hears before it condemns, and renders judgment only after trial."

The resolution was adopted as amended, by substituting the words "the Constitution of the United States and the law of the land."

Sections III, IV, V, VI and VII were adopted as submitted.

Section VIII further considered.* Motion made to eliminate section.

DR. A. D. MAYO:

Before we follow that advice we had better consider whether this association, which was called together for sociological purposes, is to allow itself to be governed by racial passion, when its purposes are to put into these resolutions what are simply facts. I would inquire of these gentlemen who seem to be so concerned regarding the credit of the establishing of colored schools, what is meant when we speak of the State of Massachusetts spending $12,000,000 a year for public schools? Suppose a laborer should say it was a slander? There are quantities of people who pay no taxes in the South, but these are not supposed to be discriminated against. Anyone who understands the system knows that a State appropriates so much in the way that all other taxes are raised. In regard to statements that schools have been suppressed in the South, cut down from seven months to two, I deny flatly. There has been no such cutting down in any State. They might have squelched certain propositions, but there has been no legislation that has cut down schools. I have traveled through the South for twenty years and have been everywhere in it. They told you that in great numbers of these districts in Virginia and Maryland there are only two or three months' shool, for no State of itself can fur-

*See page 8.

nish money enough to keep schools in action more than two or three months in a year. They rely entirely in some places upon the State distribution of funds for the establishment of schools. This rarely will support a system of schools more than two or three months in a year, and whether a place shall have eight or nine months or three or four depends upon the taxation. But where there are private ways in which people can accomplish this it can be done. It is wrong to talk about the Southern States cutting down the supply of Southern schools. There has been a great deal of talk in Mississippi by the present Governor, but there has been no action on this matter. When you come to the legislation of that State—I pronounce it as a fact—no State has done more, according to its population, for the education of all its people. They will never get in that State any such general cutting down. Don't let us bring into this matter our fancies. We don't wish to withdraw all appreciation from the South.

REV. A. M. GREEN:

There are none of us who do not concede to Dr. Mayo the general knowledge of conditions in the Southern States. We know what he has been doing and how well, but it does not take away from him our qualifying, to some extent, the laudation of what the Southern States have provided. There are sections in Louisiana where the white schools are kept for seven months, the colored for three. I don't undertake to say that there is not some ground upon which they can base a semblance of justice, but we deprecate the fact that notwithstanding the large contributions that have been made there is still this discrepancy. *We are looking at what has not been done on the line of duty.* There are societies calling for coöperative help from the North, and are receiving largely from the North. I must recognize the fact that there is not an even distribution of these funds, that these discrepancies exist that ought not to exist.

MR. GORHAM:

I should be unwilling to antagonize Dr. Mayo on this subject.

DR. W. V. TUNNELL:

I wish the section eliminated entirely, not because of any prejudice against the Southern States. I honor the work that has been done by Tuskegee and Hampton. I object to this on the ground that it would be invidious to single out these and not to mention some of the others. In regard to the other matter it is a natural association; why should we single out any section of the country for any special commendation? It would be just as wise and pertinent for us to thank the Northern States for what they have done for the education of the Negro. Thousands and thousands have been spent in this way in other sections. This is the simple question after all, and when it comes to the matter of the South, from the standpoint of pure justice, it has done nothing more than it ought to have done. Therefore, it seems to me, without any prejudice or partiality, that this section is not at all necessary.

PROF. L. B. MOORE:

I want to make an explanatory statement before saying what I want to say. I was a member of that committee which drafted this report. It is to be expected that it is not at all possible for all of the members of that committee to get together for the serious and sober consideration of such a report, all being busy men. As to this article, I think one or two things ought to be considered. In the first place, as to figures given to you. We all know very well it is dangerous to deal in figures unless we know the ground whereon we stand. It is simply an approximation. There is only one State where the count has been kept separately, and that is Maryland. In Baltimore an account has been kept for more than thirty years. Such an approximation is made in the report of the Commissioner of Education. It is injudicious to say just how much has been done. As to the statement, "We have abiding faith in the South," the fact is that that is not so. It will be said that the colored people have faith in the South, that they are satisfied, that the Southern white people had said long ago that they could settle this question; "You men of the North take your hands off and let us settle this matter."

MR. GORHAM:

I stand corrected. I am not satisfied with the expression.

DR. CORROTHERS:

I am in favor of striking it out altogether. It is untrue to start with. I have no faith in it at all. The public schools for Negroes in the Southern States were introduced by Negroes in every State except three. The schools of the South were not established by the so-called better class of the South.

REV. DEAN RICHMOND BABBITT:

I think it is very natural that the feeling has been exhibited that has been exhibited this afternoon. They have assisted and are still assisting. One great object of this Conference is for the purpose of taking practical steps. We do not care to idealize, but we do want to accomplish something practical. Now, why would it not be a very wise thing to recognize in general terms whatever certain classes of the South have done for the Negro? You do not want to alienate a very strong and powerful class who are your friends. Whoever has been trying to establish a school system would be made more cold in your cause. *We know that there are friends in the South. They ought to have a fitting recognition as encouragement to further effort.* Embody your simple recognition, without venturing on definite figures. A man like Judge Jones is your friend. You don't want to turn your back on him, or on Gen. Birney, or on Dr. Mayo or any other friend. It is an act of justice, of courtesy, with regard to getting further assistance. Change the wording: "We gladly recognize that in the limits of the ex-slave States there are many of our friends who have assisted in the establishment of schools for the colored race, and that with their aid and Northern help have been founded more than forty of the colleges intended for the education of the Negroes located there. We further recognize that these friends appreciate the vast im-

portance of the Negro population to the intelligence and industrial prosperity of the South."

DR. MAYO:

I cannot accept the amendment of Dr. Babbitt. We have friends in the South who have assisted us. Every State in the South, after the carpet-bag administration, established a system of public schools and put into the constitutions a provision for that establishment to include every person, white and colored. That system has been administered. Every Southern State today is supporting a college, educational and mechanical, for white and colored people. Tuskegee is a State school; Hampton is a State school.

DR. BABBITT:

There is no more loyal friend than Dr. Mayo to education in the South. I offer a substitute for the eighth section, as I have stated.

Dr. Babbitt's substitute was accepted. (Sec. VIII.)*

Sections IX and X were read and adopted. Section XI adopted.

Sec. XII.† MR. SINCLAIR objected:

I feel that the coming together of the States of the North and South would bring about harm to the race, as the colored man would not be considered a factor.

MR. CORROTHERS objected:

I oppose it on the ground that the Negro would be sacrificed. When this union has been effected the same thing might prevail in the North.

Remarks on the twelfth section of the series of resolutions of the Washington Sociological Conference.

MR. GEO. S. MABRY:

Mr. Chairman, I feel compelled by the exigency of this critical time to beg the indulgence of this Conference in order to give public expression to my humble opinion; my excuse being a desire to further the ends purposed by this Conference, by adopting and sending forth to the country at large the "twelfth" section of the proposed resolution as a part of the work of this Conference.

From the reading of the invitation, etc., I inferred that this was to be a sociological conference, and, indeed, that it was to embrace in its folds of membership men of different races, from different sections of our country, at least, as well as men differing in party politics, here to devise plans, to reach some "common ground," in order to put a quietus upon the "strained conditions" now existing between the two races. And, there-

* See page 5.
† See page 6.

GEORGE S. MABRY,
Of North Carolina.
Member of the Committee on Race Harmony, National Sociological Society.
Member, Ways and Means Committee, National Sociological Society.

fore, I think that the colored men here assembled, as well as elsewhere, should be very cautious in speech and action. They should be willing and strive to their utmost to be liberal and make concessions, and thus to help to hold the tried and true white friends here assembled with us, and thus draw others of like kind unto us. The colored people as a race need friends, and they cannot afford to drive away any whites who are discharging a friendly office in our behalf. We should certainly encourage them to remain with us while sharing our troubles and discomforts. Ere long they may be able to rejoice with us in our final triumph. Let us not pursue so radical a course by claiming everything in sight. Let us, rather, show a united front by adopting section 12 as it reads now. I believe such to be the best for the majority of our people who still live in the South, "confronting the actual condition," which was so truthfully portrayed to us by Bishop Holsey's paper.*

PROF. MOORE:

If there could be any possible way of bringing about the desired end it would be the best thing on the face of the earth. Many of us feel that the time has come for the white man of the North, the white man of the South, and the colored man to discuss calmly these serious questions.

Dr. Babbitt offered a resolution, as Section XVI, being germane to preceding section. Resolution 16, page 6.

A motion was carried to the effect that the rule regarding the reference of resolutions to the committee on resolutions be suspended, and Dr. Babbitt's resolution was adopted.

Prof. Moore offered a resolution that the time was now ripe for the Federal Government to make large appropriations for education in the South, and that it be asked to do so.

DR. MAYO:

I did not think it well to project such a resolution. If Senator Blair's bill had been carried out things would not have been in the present condition. He, Senator Blair, was unable with his membership in the Senate to do this.

GEN. BIRNEY:

Senator Blair's bill was not considered a constitutional thing, accordingly it failed. It is not wise for us to pass such a resolution.

PROF. MOORE:

It is the consensus of opinion that *the Federal Government ought to do more for education in the South*. The South needs more than can possibly be given.

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* Resolution 12, see page 6.

DR. BABBITT:

A New York lawyer has decided that it is legal. It is so immensely important and would meet with so many objections. The committee of six will doubtless take it into account.

Dr. Babbitt suggested as a substitute for Prof. Moore's resolution that the Conference recommend that the Permanent Commission on the Race Problem take into its special care the matter of the proposal of a bill for general education throughout the South, so that it may draw up a resolution to be presented to Congress wisely and discreetly on the facts. "We cannot afford to make any mistakes."

Reference is made to bills by Senator Nelson to establish a general system of industrial education and for the expenditure of a large sum of money to encourage work in the States, to establish a county system in the schools, which have been waiting two years; and a suggestion made that this body can show that it approves these bills in a general way.

Dr. Babbitt's recommendation was adopted.

The resolutions were adopted as a whole.

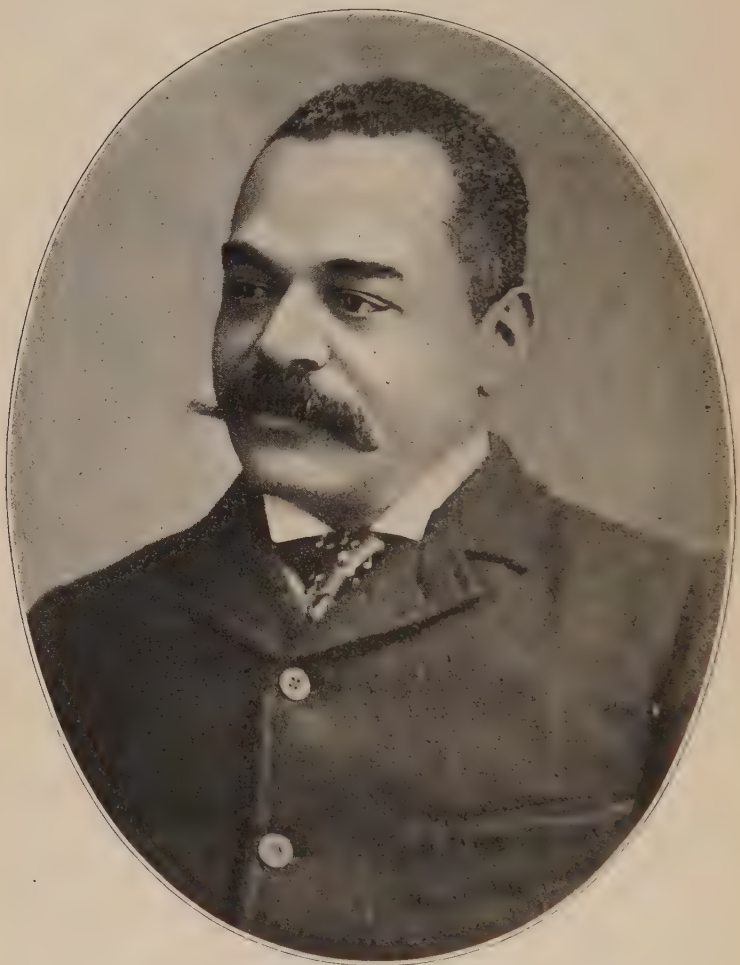
A vote of thanks was offered to the pastors of Lincoln Memorial, Nineteenth Street Baptist and Metropolitan A. M. E. churches which had opened their doors to the Conference, and to the officers of the Sociological Society, and the Committee on Resolutions.

Closing remarks by PROF. LAWSON:

I am fully gratified that there was such a ready response to the invitation to become members of this Conference. We received responses from sources where we least expected; from Members of the Senate of the United States who have joined the National Sociological Society, from Members of the House of Representatives who have joined this Society, from Governors of States, from Republicans and Democrats, and persons who at one time belonged to the Populist party, who have joined this Society. In the close of this meeting I wish to thank all parties for the coöperation

that they have given the President of the National Sociological Society, and I think we have made the first step in solving the race problem. In all reform movements there is one thing necessary. It is not as to the length of the step; the important thing is to take the first step in the right direction. This we have done, I think.

Conference adjourned *sine die*.



MR. J. WILLIAM MAYS,
Treasurer, National Sociological Society.
Member, Ways and Means Committee, National Sociological Society.

APPENDIX.

The attitude of the colored people on the "Jim-Crow" car law was plainly stated by a committee consisting of Hon. George H. White, Prof. Jesse Lawson, Rev. Walter H. Brooks, Mr. Daniel Murray, and Mr. Cyrus F. Adams, before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, May 9, 1902.

An amendment was offered to the Interstate Commerce law compelling common carriers to furnish identical accommodation for all persons paying the same fare, and prohibiting them from separating passengers on account of race or color.*

Most of the Southern States have adopted constitutional amendments disfranchising colored citizens. Some of these States have what is called the "understanding" clause; while others have the "grandfather" clause, intended to let in all white men, but to keep out all colored men from voting, as far as possible.

It is believed that the Louisiana cases in the hands of Hon. A. E. Pillsbury, Hon. A. A. Birney, Hon. George H. White, Col. Armand Romain, Frederick L. McGhee, Esq., Hon. J. Madison Vance, and Prof. Jesse Lawson, will furnish the test whereby the United States Supreme Court must pass upon the merits of the disfranchising provisions in the constitutions of the Southern States.

"NEGRO EDUCATION NOT A FAILURE."

That the money expended in the education of colored people has been wisely applied is thoroughly and clearly shown in a masterly speech, delivered at Madison Square Garden, New York, February 12, 1904, Lincoln's Birthday, by Prof. Booker T. Washington.

*See hearings before Interstate Commerce Committee, H. R., 1902, pages 437-453.

Mr. Washington says:

NEGRO EDUCATION NOT A FAILURE.

The anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln and the presentation of the claims of the Hampton Institute furnish a fitting occasion to discuss the condition of my race.

Several persons holding high official position have recently said that it does not pay, from any point of view, to educate the Negro; and that all attempts at his education have so far failed to accomplish any good results. Except that these utterances come from official sources, they would have little claim to a place in a meeting of this character. But the Southern States, which, out of their poverty are contributing rather liberally for the education of all the people, as well as individual and organized philanthropy throughout the country, have a right to know whether the Negro is responding to the efforts they have made to place him upon a higher plane of civilization.

It is not possible to improve the condition of any race until its mind is awakened and strengthened. Does the American Negro desire to improve his mind, and what has been the result of his efforts? Will it pay to invest further money in this direction? In partially answering this question it is hardly fair to compare the progress of the American Negro with that of the American White man, who, in some unexplained way, got thousands of years ahead of the Negro in the arts and sciences of civilization. But to get at the real facts and the real capability of the black man, let us compare for a moment the American Negro with the Negro in Africa, or the black man with the black man. As was recently suggested by Mr. Carnegie, in South Africa alone there are five million black people who have never been brought, through school or other agencies, into contact with a higher civilization, in a way to have their minds or their ambitions strengthened or awakened. As a result, the industries of South Africa languish and refuse to prosper for lack of labor. The native black man refuses to labor because he has been neglected. He has few wants and little ambition, and his crude and few wants may be satisfied by laboring one or two days out of the seven. In the southern part of the United States there are more than eight millions of my race who, both by contact with the whites, and by education in the home, in school, in church, have had their minds awakened and strengthened—have thus had their wants increased and multiplied many times. Hence, instead of a people in idleness, we have in the South a people who are anxious to work because they want education for their children; they want land, and houses, and churches, books and papers. In a word, they want the highest and best in our civilization. Looked at, then, from the most material and selfish point of view, it has paid to awaken the Negro's mind, and there should be no limit placed upon the development of that mind.

Does the American Negro take advantage of opportunities to secure education? Practically no school house has been opened for the Negro

since the war that has not been filled. Often hungry and in rags, making sacrifices of which you little dream, the Negro youth has been determined to annihilate his mental darkness. With all his disadvantages, the Negro, according to official records, has blotted out 55.5 per cent. of his illiteracy since he became a free man, while practically 95 per cent. of the native Africans are illiterate. After years of civilization and opportunity, in Spain 68 per cent. of the population are illiterate; in Italy 38 per per cent. In the average South American country about 80 per cent. are illiterate, while after forty years the American Negro has only 44.5 per cent. of illiteracy to his debit. I have thus compared the progress of my race not with the highest civilized nations, for the reason that, in passing judgment upon us, the world too often forgets that, either consciously or otherwise, because of geographical or physical proximity to the American white man, we are being compared with the very highest civilization that exists. But when compared with the most advanced and enlightened white people of the South, we find 12 per cent. of illiteracy for them and only 44 per cent. for our race.

Having seen that the American Negro takes advantage of every opportunity to secure an education, I think it will surprise some to learn to what an extent the race contributes towards its own education and works in sympathetic touch with the whites at the South. In emphasizing this fact I use the testimony of the best Southern white men. Says the State Superintendent of Education of Florida in one of his recent official reports: "The following figures are given to show that the education of the Negroes of Middle Florida (the Black Belt of Florida) does not cost the white people of that section one cent." In those eight Black Belt counties the total cost of the Negro schools is $19,457. The total contributed by the Negro in direct and indirect taxes amounted to $23,984, thus leaving a difference of $4,527, which, according to the Superintendent, went into white schools. In Mississippi for the year ending in 1899, according to an eminent authority, the Negroes had expended on their schools about 20 per cent. of the total school fund, or a total of about $250,000. During the same year they paid toward their own education in poll taxes, State, county and city taxes, and indirect taxes, about $280,000, or a surplus of about $30,000. So that, looked at from any point of view, it would seem that the Negroes in that State are in a large measure paying for their own education.

But all this has little to do with my main purpose, and that is to emphasize the fact that with all the Negro is doing for himself, with all the white people in the South are doing for themselves, and despite all that one race is doing to help the other, the present opportunities for education are woefully inadequate for both races. In the year 1877–8 the total expenditure for education in the ex-slave States was a beggarly $2.61 per capita for whites and only $1.09 for blacks. On the same basis the U. S. Commissioner of Education reasons that for the year 1900–1 $35,400,000 were spent for the education of both races in the South, of which $6,000,000 went to Negroes, or $4.92 per capita for whites and $2.21

for blacks. On the same basis each child in Massachusetts has spent upon his education $22.35 and each one in New York $20.53 yearly.

From both a moral and religious point of view, what measure of education the Negro has received has paid, and there has been no step backward in any State. Not a single graduate of the Hampton Institute or of the Tuskegee Institute can be found today in any jail or State penitentiary. After making careful inquiry I cannot find a half-dozen cases of a man or woman who has completed a full course of education in any of our reputable institutions like Hampton, Tuskegee, Fisk or Atlanta, who are in prisons. The records of the South show that 90 per cent. of the colored people in prisons are without knowledge of trades, and 61 per cent. are illiterate. This statement alone disproves the assertion that the Negro grows in crime as education increases. If the Negro at the North is more criminal than his brother at the South, it is because the North withholds from him the opportunity for employment which the South gives. It is not the educated Negro who has been guilty of or even charged with crime in the South; it is, as a rule, the one who has a mere smattering of education or is in total ignorance. While the Negro may succeed in getting into the State prison faster, the White man, in some inexplainable manner, has a way of getting out faster than the Negro. To illustrate: The official records of Virginia for a year show that one out of every three and one-half White men were freed from prison by executive clemency, and that only one out of every fourteen Negroes received such clemency. In Louisiana it is one to every four and one-half White men and one to every forty-nine Negroes. So that when this feature is considered, matters are pretty well evened up between the races.

As bearing further upon the tendency of education to improve the morals of the Negro, and therefore to prolong his life, no one will accuse the average New York insurance company of being guided by mere sentiment towards the Negro in placing its risks; with the insurance company it is a question of cold business. A few months ago the chief medical examiner for the largest industrial insurance company in America stated that, after twenty years' experience and observation, his company had found that the Negro who was intelligent, who worked regularly at a trade or some industry and owned his home, was as safe an insurance risk as a White man in the same station of life.

Not long ago a Southern white man residing in the town of Tuskegee, who represents one of the largest and most wealthy accident and casualty companies in New York, wrote to his company to the effect that while he knew his company refused to insure the ordinary, ignorant colored man, at the Tuskegee Institute there were some 150 officers and instructors who were persons of education and skill, with property and character, and that he, a Southern white man, advised that they be insured on the same terms as other races, and within a week the answer came back, "Insure without hesitation every Negro on the Tuskegee Institute grounds of the type you name." The fact is that almost every insurance company is now seeking the business of the educated Negro.

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THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I.

NAME.

This organization shall be known and designated as THE NATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II.

OBJECTS.

The objects of the organization are:

1. To gather and collate data bearing on the American *Race Problem*.

2. To formulate plans and suggest measures with the patriotic view of bringing about a better understanding between the races in the United States.

3. To study thoroughly, systematically, and scientifically every phase of the *Race Problem* with a view of finding some remedy to relieve a strained situation made possible by the existence of said problem.

4. To find some common ground upon which all of the friends of our common cause may stand, and to adjust the different and divergent views, respecting the solution of the *Race Problem*, into a definite and harmonious proposition.

5. To print and distribute literature containing information considered as data in the solution of the *Race Problem*.

6. To cultivate a spirit of patriotism.

7. To endeavor to bring about a more harmonious relation between the races under the American Government.

ARTICLE III.

MEMBERSHIP.

Any person of good character who subscribes to the foregoing objects may become a member of this organization:

1. By being proposed by a member in good standing in the organization;

2. By application to the Committee on Membership, indorsed by one or more members in good standing, or,

3. By invitation from the Committee on Invitations and Programme: *Provided, however*, that all applications for membership shall be approved by the Committee on Membership.

ARTICLE IV.

Fees.

The entrance fee and annual dues shall be fixed by the Executive Committee of the National Sociological Society.

ARTICLE V.

Officers.

The officers of this organization shall be:

A President, three vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary, a recording secretary, a treasurer, a board of counselors, a chaplain, and a statistician.

There shall also be an executive committee, selected from among the members of the organization, and such other committees as may be deemed advisable for the advancement of the society.

ARTICLE VI.

Meetings.

There shall be, at least, one meeting of the National Sociological Society held each year, but the Executive Committee shall meet semi-annually.

ARTICLE VII.

Place of Meeting.

The place of meetings shall be determined by the Executive Committee of the National Sociological Society.

ARTICLE VIII.

Duty of Officers.

As defined in Robert's Rules of Order, pages 100–110, Sections 40–41.

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OF THE

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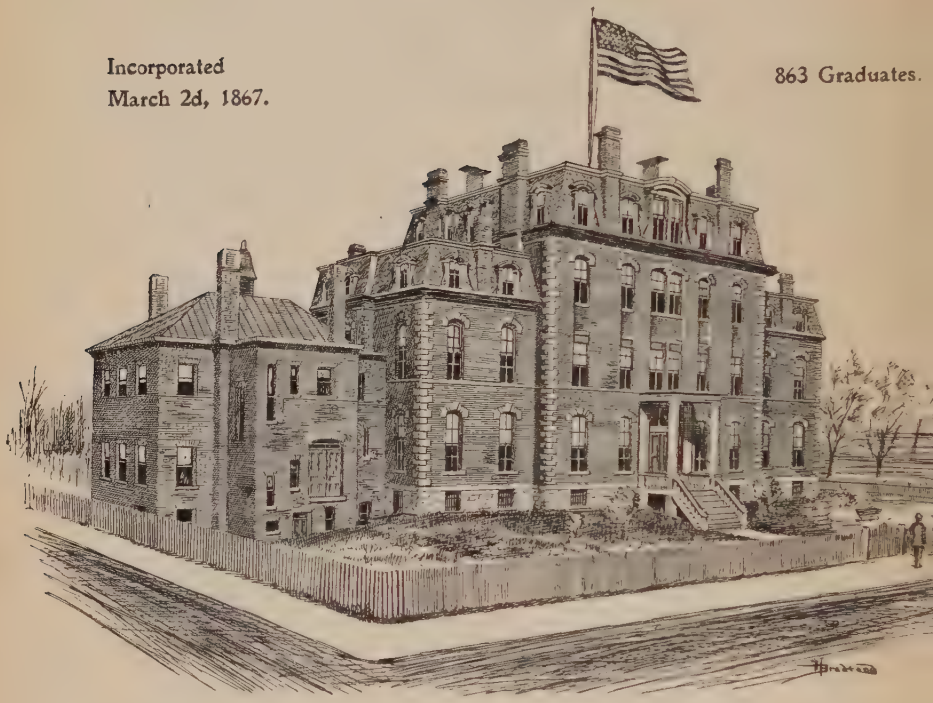

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